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of Rockhurst, West Hoathly
Sussex.
5th of March.
1890.

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of Inigo Jones

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INIGO JONES AND BEN JONSON.

INIGO JONES AND BEN JONSON:

BEING

THE LIFE OF INIGO JONES.

By PETER CUNNINGHAM.

ILLUSTRATED WITH NUMEROUS FAC-SIMILES OF HIS DESIGNS FOR MASQUES.

AND

BEN JONSON'S CONVERSATIONS WITH DRUMMOND OF HAWTHORNDEN.

EDITED

By DAVID LAING.

PRINTED FOR THE SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY,

AND TO BE HAD OF

W. SKEFFINGTON, AGENT TO THE SOCIETY, 192, PICCADILLY.

1853.

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INIGO JONES.

A LIFE OF THE ARCHITECT;

BY PETER CUNNINGHAM, ESQ.

REMARKS ON SOME OF HIS SKETCHES FOR MASQUES AND DRAMAS;

BY J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ.

AND

FIVE COURT MASQUES;

EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL MSS. OF BEN JONSON, JOHN MARSTON, ETC.

BY J. PAYNE COLLIER, ESQ.

ACCOMPANIED BY FACSIMILES OF DRAWINGS BY INIGO JONES;

AND BY A PORTRAIT FROM A PAINTING BY VANDYCK.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR THE SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY.

1848.

F. Shoberl, Jun., Printer to H.R.H. Prince Albert, Rupert Street.

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PREFACE.

The present volume has been longer in preparation than was originally calculated upon. The delay in some degree arose out of the other avocations of the editors of the three different portions of the work, which interfered with their combined exertions; but it was more especially caused by the number and nature of the illustrations.

The most bountiful contributor of these is the Duke of Devonshire, who has always laid open the stores of his library for the use of the Shakespeare Society, and for the advancement of its objects. His Grace possesses a large collection of the designs of Inigo Jones, not merely for public and private edifices, made in the pursuit of his profession as an architect, but of his sketches from pictures, and of what we may call graphic hints for the execution of more elaborate performances. His extraordinary felicity with his pen and pencil is witnessed by no less a contemporary than Vandyck, in a passage quoted by Mr. Cunningham on p. 40; and in consequence of the rapidity, variety, and certainty of his hand, he

was often employed, particularly on sudden emergencies, in the execution of designs for the general appearance, and peculiar habiliments of characters in Masques and other dramatic performances at Court. His public appointment was, in some sort, connected with these representations; and we know from many authorities, particularly from several remarkable passages in Ben Jonson's "Masque of Queens," comprised in the present volume, that for the contrivance of the machinery and for the painting of the scenes themselves, the poets of that day were very commonly indebted to Inigo Jones. Besides, therefore, the sketches for the persons and dresses of the characters, the Duke of Devonshire is the owner of several boxes of designs for scenery, &c. The large paintings, fixed or moveable, were made by inferior artists from these smaller designs of temples, palaces, mansions, cottages, rocks, wood, and water; and not a few of them are actually splashed with the distemper used for the purpose. These his Grace, with his wonted liberality, placed at the disposal of our Society; but it is obvious that we could only avail ourselves of a small part of the treasures, on account of their size; and the specimens which we here present are taken from two folio volumes, chiefly, if not exclusively containing sketches in connexion with the apparel and costume of personages who figured in the royal entertainments of James I. and Charles I. It will be seen that they are mere rough outlines, instantly handed over to others, that they might make more finished and detailed representations in the

appropriate colours. Of these last the Duke of Devonshire has many examples; but our object, with only one or two exceptions, has been to exhibit the sketches precisely in the state in which they came from the hand of Inigo Jones. Our facsimiles have been made by Mr. Netherclift, with such fidelity, that the copies might almost be substituted for the originals, without detection.

Another important contributor to the illustrations of our volume has been Major Inigo Jones, justly proud of his descent from his great namesake. Finding that the Shakespeare Society was preparing a volume, devoted mainly to the life and works of his ancestor, and having an original portrait of Inigo Jones, by Vandyck, in his possession, he not merely permitted the Council to prefix it as a frontispiece to our volume, but, with most praiseworthy generosity, paid for the engraving of it upon steel, in a style of art that does credit to the master and to the donor.

It remains to speak as briefly as we can of the literary portion of our volume.

For the Life of Inigo Jones, the members are indebted to Mr. Cunningham, their able, learned, and indefatigable Treasurer. Hitherto, our language has possessed nothing deserving the name of a biography of this illustrious architect, who extended his studies and his zeal to all branches of art, either immediately or remotely connected with the profession he embraced. Mr. Cunningham has produced many new facts, and has inserted or quoted many new documents: it is really astonishing how some of them can

have remained so long unexamined and unemployed; but with regard to others, they have been derived from sources of information peculiar to the writer. He has neglected nothing that could throw light on the genius, character, and actions of the subject of his memoir, and we are sure that such of our members as are best informed on matters of the sort will be gratified by the novelty and interest given to this part of our undertaking.

Mr. Planché's taste and knowledge on the subject of early costume have been applied to the second portion of this work; and the Council gladly availed itself of his ready assistance. He has explained and illustrated some of the sketches in a manner which makes us regret that he did not extend to all the resources of his attainments and talents: it is left to the writer of the present Introduction to say a few imperfect words on the other plates, which cannot well be dismissed without some explanation. We begin with two historical personages:—

1. Robert Kett, the tanner of Wimondham, who headed the rebellion in Norfolk in 1549. This sketch, (upon which the artist has written *Cett*, pronouncing the first letter hard) however rough, is interesting, because it establishes a new fact in our theatrical history; viz., that there was some early dramatic representation on the popular subject of this notorious leader. We know that Wat Tiler, Jack Straw, and Cade, (the last one of the characters illustrated by Inigo Jones) had been brought in various ways upon the public stage in the reigns

of Elizabeth and James; and we may fairly presume, from the design under consideration, that Kett had enjoyed the same distinction, although the fact is not recorded. The great probability, to say the least of it, is, that an historical play, in which Kett figured, and in which his rebellion was punished, having been brought with success upon the public stage, it was transferred to the royal theatre at Whitehall, and there performed for the amusement of the Court. For this reason, mainly, we selected the figure of Kett, as a specimen of what Inigo Jones considered ought to be his stage-dress and appointments. His truncheon, his hat and feather, his epaulets, &c., all show that he was represented as assuming the rank and character of a military commander. Such, we may infer, was his appearance also on the public stage, whether at the Globe on the Bankside, at the Fortune in Cripplegate, or before the more noisy and less refined audiences at the Red Bull in St. John Street.

2. Knipperdolling (called *Kniperdoling* by Inigo Jones) was one of the allies and confederates of John of Leyden, near the commencement of the sixteenth century. A full account of him, among other places, may be found in Alexander Ross's "Πανσεβεια, or a View of All Religions," 8vo., London, 1672,[1] accompanied by a portrait of the hero, to which the representation by Inigo Jones could not be expected to bear much resemblance. Knipperdolling was a pro-

[1] For a reference to, and for the use of this book, the writer is indebted to Mr. Bruce, a member of our Council.

phet and cobbler, and possessed great power and influence among the ignorant Anabaptists; it is very clear, however, that he was only meant to be ridiculous in our sketch; and, most likely, such was the sort of character he had sustained upon the common stage, before he was transferred to the Court. It is possible that he was made only to take part in some Antimasque, alluding to the story of that time; but it is much more probable that he had first figured in a now lost drama, brought out before a public auditory.

3. The Morris-dancer, (or *Moresco*, as Inigo Jones properly called him under the figure he drew) frequently appeared on our old theatres and in entertainments at Court: he is found in the last Masque, in the third portion of our volume; and on this account the sketch forms an appropriate illustration. We chose it for another reason, also: it is in a totally different style of drawing to the other figures, and possibly may have been the work of some artist under the direction of our architect, who has added another tint, (happily expressed in our stone-engraving) in order to give greater effect to the figure. There is but little resemblance between it and the representation of William Kemp dancing his Morris to Norwich on the title-page of his "Nine Daies Wonder," 1600: the bells and the cap are nearly all they have in common. The close-fitting habiliments, in the plate from Inigo Jones, are much more like those in the ancient representation by Israel von Mechlin, in vol. ii., p. 447, of Douce's

"Illustrations of Shakespeare." Inigo Jones, in his inscription, does not fall into the error of some modern critics, who confound the dancer with the dance, and tells us that Moresco means the latter, when it is only the name of the former.

4. We have inserted the figure of the Torch-bearer, because he is found in nearly every Masque of the period which was performed at night: we may take it, perhaps, that he was ordinarily dressed as in our plate; but the apparel of the torch-bearers was often regulated by circumstances, and rendered consistent with the propriety of the whole scene. It would be very easy to multiply proofs that the torch-bearers (differing in number, but usually from eight to twelve) were habited with most fantastic variety in court performances.

5. The three characters of the Damsel, the Dwarf, and Lanier, are given in one plate, because they were so sketched by Inigo Jones. There can be little doubt but that the dwarf was the famous Sir Jeffrey Hudson, whose portrait, by Mytens, is at Hampton Court, having been painted for King James, with whom the little knight was a great favourite. In what particular Masque Hudson was employed we know not. The third figure is that of Lanier, as the artist himself informs us. There were three Laniers, musicians, in the reigns of James and Charles—Nicholas, William, and Jerome, the most famous being the first. In 1625-6, the two last, who are called "performers on the sack buts," were allowed £16 2*s.* 0*d.* each, for their liveries. The amount had been rather less in

the time of Queen Elizabeth; viz., £15 0*s.* 8*d.*, which could be little short of £60 or £70 of our present money; and it was thus expended, as appears in an account made out for Lord Burghley about 1585, when he surveyed the royal household, with a view to reduce its charges:—

Allowance of Apparrell for a Musition owte of the Gardrobe.

Chamlett, 14 yardes, at 3^s. 4^d. the yarde .		46^s. 8^d.
Velvet, 6 yardes, at 15^s. the yarde, amounteth to	£4	10^s.
Damaske, 8 yardes at 8^s. the yarde . .	£3	4^s.
One furre of Budge, pryce	£4	
Lyneng and making		20^s.
Summa	£15	0^s. 8^d.

Nicholas Lanier sang and composed the music for Ben Jonson's "Masque of Lethe," "after the Italian manner, stylo recitativo," as we are informed by the author in a note. He is probably the person intended by Inigo Jones; and it is evident that he was to play upon the harp in the performance for which the sketch was made. Lanier must have been most useful in court performances, because he was an artist, as well as a musician, and sometimes assisted in painting the very scenes before which he figured. This representation of him is, therefore, peculiarly remarkable and interesting.

6. We have already had a Dwarf, and here we meet with a Giant, a character for which the Queen's Porter, as painted by Zucchero, (some time before the period to which we are now adverting) or a successor of equal stature, would be well qualified. The Tooth-drawer and Corn-cutter were either per-

sonages in an Antemasque, or they might be adapted for such a representation as Marston's "Mountebank's Masque" in our present volume. Among the more finished sketches by Jones is one of a Mountebank, who may have been the very empiric Marston intended to ridicule.

7. The artist tells us, on the face of this sketch, that the three characters contained in it belonged to "the King's Masque, 1637." We know not, on any other authority, what was the nature of the representation; and we have selected this specimen, not merely on that account, but because it shows so exactly, and so humorously, the sort of performances about this time relished even by royalty and nobility. We do not, however, suppose that the "Scraper," the "Gridiron," and the "Ballad-singer," were more than subordinate personages: had there not been a great deal of show and expense about it, the grandeur and dullness of which was relieved by the comic buffooneries of these performers of what may be called "rough music," the King's Masque, at Christmas 1637-8, could hardly have cost such a large sum as £1400. (Hist. Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage, ii., 85.) The Queen's Masque, at Shrove-tide following, cost £1550, supposing all the money issued by virtue of the privy seals to have been laid out upon the exhibition.

8. This sketch is very much of the same kind as the last; but it illustrates the species of harmony Nick Bottom calls for when he exclaims, "I have a reasonable good ear for music: let's have the

tongs and the bones." ("Midsummer Night's Dream," act iv., sc. 1.) This, in fact, formed one principal inducement for placing it among those of which we thought facsimiles would be acceptable: any thing that connects representations of the kind with Shakespeare comes especially recommended to our notice. "Knackers" is written by Inigo Jones under the first figure, and "Tonges and Key" under the second: the "knackers" were usually made of bone, or hard wood, and were played between the fingers, in the same way as we still hear them every day among boys in the streets, and it is a very ancient and popular kind of music: the "tongs" were struck by the "key," and in this way the discordant sounds were produced that were so grateful to the ear of the entranced Weaver. The figures themselves, like the rest, are the merest sketches, in order to inform the eye and guide the hand of the artist employed to make the more finished and exact, but less spirited and original drawings.

9. This plate contains an armed head, represented by a few masterly touches, and no doubt used for the manufacture of the helmet to be worn by a particular person or persons in some court performance. What the lower figures mean, we are not able precisely to explain, but they are full of character, and one of them, raising his arm and dancing, is drawn with surprising ease and energy. In truth, all are most useful studies for artists, and evince a facility and an accuracy that could only have been attained by great talent and much practice. Every

body who has been fortunate enough to see the facsimile of the Sketch-book of Inigo Jones, made by direction of the Duke of Devonshire some ten or fifteen years ago, and presented to the private friends of his Grace, will be aware of the admirable schools to which Inigo Jones resorted for instruction, and of the wonderful success that attended his studies.

We now come to the contents of the third portion of our volume, which has merely the merit of containing faithful printed copies of original manuscripts. As far as typography would enable us to accomplish it, they are, in five different instances, exact imitations of the manner in which the authors of Masques put their minds upon paper.

The first is Ben Jonson's well-known "Masque of Queens," the most remarkable of his productions of this description, with witchcraft and incantations, in rivalry of, or generous competition with the scenes of the same kind in "Macbeth." Shakespeare showed what genius and invention could accomplish, and Ben Jonson proved what learning and labour, seconded by noble and vigorous poetry, could produce. In this there was not necessarily any envy of our great dramatist's success, and we do not impute it to Ben Jonson: he was perfectly justified in displaying before "a learned King," who had required his services, what the authorities of antiquity, in particular such as Horace Lucan and Apuleius, would enable him to perform. Ben Jonson's effort was as much a triumph of extensive erudition as Shakespeare's was of boundless imagination. Both arrived at the height

of what they intended; and Shakespeare could no more have produced the one, than Ben Jonson the other: each is wonderful in its way.

Our impression of this piece is from the original and beautiful autograph of the poet preserved among the Royal Manuscripts in the British Museum, of which Gifford and his predecessors knew nothing, when they published their editions of Ben Jonson's Works. "The Masque of Queens" was performed on 2nd February, 1609, (some time after "Macbeth" had been brought out) and it was printed in quarto, in the same year, with a dedication to Prince Henry: when, however, it was included in the folio of Ben Jonson's Works, the printing of which he superintended in 1616, that dedication was omitted, in consequence of the lamented death of the Prince in the interval. It will be found that our copy differs in some material respects from both; and we have printed it with the notes appended in the peculiar manner in which they stand in the author's own manuscript, which he presented to the King, and which has been preserved in our national depository. We need not enter into the differences between the several printed editions and Ben Jonson's autograph, because comparison is now rendered easy; but we may observe, that we have been so anxious that our impression shall exactly represent the autograph, that we have not hesitated to follow the latter, even in some places of trifling misquotation or reference, which were subsequently corrected. Our readers will thus be able to see the exact state of our original, and the changes

subsequent inquiry enabled Ben Jonson to introduce. It will be found that, for the sake of compression, he did not scruple to print Latin verse as prose, only indicating the commencement of the lines by the use of capital letters.

The second Masque is likewise by Ben Jonson, and in point of date it ought to have taken precedence. It was brought out at Whitehall on Twelfth Night, 1605, and it is not, like the former, solely in the handwriting of the poet, but in that of some scribe he employed: it is clear, however, that he carefully superintended the transcript from his own copy; and in testimony he added in his autograph at the close—

"Hos ego versiculos feci.

"Ben Jonson."

This original MS. was also unknown to Gifford, and of course to all previous editors of the productions of our second-greatest dramatist. They resorted only to the two printed copies in quarto and in folio; and as Gifford has not quoted the title-page of the former accurately, it may be well to add it here, observing merely that the same quarto includes also the "Masque of Beauty," which was penned by Ben Jonson as a counterpart to his "Masque of Blackness."

"The Characters of two Royall Masques. The one of Blacknesse, the other of Beautie, personated by the most magnificent of Queenes, Anne, Queene of great Britaine, &c. With her honorable Ladyes, 1605 and 1608, at White hall: and invented by Ben Jonson.—Ovid. *Salve festa dies, meliorq. revertere semper.* Imprinted at London for Thomas Thorp, and are to be sold at the signe of the Tigers head in Paules Church-yard."

The printed exemplar in the British Museum is one of extreme interest, inasmuch as it is the very copy Ben Jonson presented to the Queen, with the following inscription in his own handwriting:—

D. Annæ
M. Britanniarū Insu. Hib., &c.
Reginæ
Feliciss. Formosiss.
Musœo
S. S.
Hunc librū vouit.
Famæ & honori eius
servientiss.
imò addictissimus
Ben Jonsonius.
Victurus Genium debet habere liber.

In the instance of this Masque, as in the former, we have scrupulously followed the original, which is also among the Royal MSS.

And here the remark is, in a manner, forced upon us, that while we possess specimens at large of the autographs of numerous contemporaries of Shakespeare—such as Ben Jonson, Marston, Dekker, Lodge, Peele, Nash, Massinger, &c.—we have nothing from his own hand, beyond the signatures to his will, to a couple of deeds, and to a volume of Florio's translation of Montaigne's Essays.

This brings us to the third production in the later portion of our volume, which is from the hand of that celebrated satirist and dramatist, John Marston. It is a new discovery, and we impute it to him, not only because his name is on the cover, in a hand-

writing of the time, although only in pencil, but because it is corrected in several places in his own handwriting, which entirely agrees with other extant specimens. The piece possesses much of the strength, and some of the coarseness, of the popular writer's mind; but it well merited to be brought to light, precisely in the shape in which it has descended to us. It is entitled "The Mountebank's Masque;" and the fourth sketch by Inigo Jones, remarked upon by Mr. Planché, represents the Harlequin, who was perhaps attendant upon this very Mountebank, although nothing is said of him in the course of the performance. For the opportunity of printing this valuable relic we have again to express our great obligations to the Duke of Devonshire.

Marston's Masque was exhibited in Gray's Inn Hall, as we learn from internal evidence on pages 111 and 117; and it contains a note of time on p. 129, in reference to the re-gilding of the Cross in Cheapside, which may serve to establish either the date when the production was written, or the date when the Cross was re-gilt; a circumstance, we believe, not alluded to in any topographical work, after the defacing of it in 1600, until its final demolition, in 1643. This performance contains a great deal of variety, and displays much ingenuity of construction and invention of character, but here and there something has necessarily been sacrificed to music, and dancing, and to what, in the theatrical language of the present day, is called "comic business."

The fourth piece, "The Masque of the Twelve

Months," is anonymous, and is printed from a manuscript of the time, belonging to the editor of this portion of the work. It is quite evident that it was a court performance; and although nothing is said to fix the place of representation, we may be pretty certain that it was at Whitehall, and before James I. It is a production of some fancy and pleasantry, and the lyrical pieces introduced are musical and skilful. We have given it as it stands in the manuscript, not even dividing the lines, whenever they are written in sequence, and without observation of the metre.

Our volume closes with a fifth hitherto unprinted Masque, or, more properly, Show, which is rather of a peculiar character, since it was written for the sake of introducing and terminating a supper, upon some occasion which has not been recorded. It is called "The Masque of the Four Seasons;" and among the finished drawings from the rough designs of Inigo Jones, in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, are representations of the four Seasons, which perhaps were used for this very exhibition. In this piece, also, it is possible that Nicholas Lanier played Orpheus, and that the sketch of him, with his harp, upon which we have already remarked, belongs to it. This consideration may give it especial claims to notice; and as the manuscript was in this instance also the property of the editor, he did not hesitate to insert it. In printing it, we have adhered to the peculiarity of the original, by the rejection of capital letters in the beginnings of the lines, and in other respects we have been equally faithful. From p. 143,

&c., it is evident that James I., his Queen, the Princes Henry and Charles, and Princess Elizabeth, were present, and hence we may be sure that the performance occurred before 1612.

The Council of our Society having authorized the editor of the third portion of the present publication to write the preface to the whole, it has been put together (as may be imagined from some expressions employed in it) without concert or communication with his excellent and zealous fellow-labourers; and, as it may contain some points and opinions to which they might not be willing to subscribe, he has subjoined his own initials, to indicate his own responsibility.

J. P. C.

Kensington, Nov. 25th, 1849.

PS. It is to be borne in mind that the present work belongs to the subscription of 1848, although it has been unavoidably delayed until 1849.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Portrait of Inigo Jones. From a Painting by Vandyck, in the possession of Major Inigo Jones . . . . *To face the Title-page.*

The Facsimiles to follow the Life of Inigo Jones by Peter Cunningham, Esq.

LIFE OF INIGO JONES.

BY

PETER CUNNINGHAM, ESQ.

LIFE OF INIGO JONES.

The life of Inigo Jones has been hitherto but imperfectly written. Errors are easily perpetuated, research being attended with expense and trouble; and Inigo's biographers have generally been content to copy one another. Many particulars in the following Memoir will be found new to the biography of the great architect.

Inigo Jones, the son of Inigo Jones, cloth-worker, living in the parish of St. Bartholomew the Less, in West Smithfield, London, was born in the year 1573, and christened in the church of St. Bartholomew, as the Register records, on the 19th of July in that year.[1] The fair of St. Bartholomew was long the great cloth fair of England, and the early character of the place is still indicated in the name of an adjoining street, called "Cloth Fair."

The Register which records the baptism of Inigo records also the burial of his grandmother, and contains the baptisms and burials of a younger brother, named Philip, and of two sisters, all of whom died in infancy.

The father (a native, it is thought, of Wales) was in indifferent circumstances when Jones was a lad of sixteen; and

[1] Collier's "Memoirs of Actors," (printed for the Shakespeare Society) p. xxvi.

a Book of Orders and Decrees of the Court of Requests, preserved in the Chapter House at Westminster, contains the decree of the Court, made 18 October, 1589, in the matter at variance "betwene Enego Jones, of the cittie of London, Clothworker, and Richard Baker, of the same cittie, Baker." Inigo, the father, had become bound to Baker in the sum of £80, "for the sure payment of £60 at a day certen limited by the condition." He had managed to pay off a portion of the debt; and Baker, as was alleged, had agreed to accept the residue, at the rate of ten shillings every month. A dispute followed, the nature of which is not explained; and Baker thereupon commenced an action for the recovery of his money. Inigo, on this, appealed "to the Queen's Majesty's Honourable Court of Requests," to stay the proceedings at law. The decree of the Court, on the appeal, was to confirm the arrangement previously agreed upon, and Inigo Jones was ordered to pay ten shillings a month, from the next 31st of December till the debt should be liquidated.[1]

Of Inigo's early life little is known, with any thing like certainty. The most probable account, says Walpole, is that he was bound apprentice to a joiner. His father, it is quite clear, had very little to give, and from his will—which I discovered in Doctors' Commons—still less to leave him. The will was made 14th February, 1596-7, only a few months before his death, and is very short. He describes himself as "Clothworker of the parish of St. Bennet, Paul's Wharf;" appoints his son Inigo his executor; directs his body to be buried by the side of his wife, in the chancel of the church of St. Bennet, Paul's Wharf; and leaves whatever he possesses, after the payment of his debts, bills, and obligations, to his son Inigo and his three daughters, Joan, Judith, and Mary, to be divided equally among them. The father was buried in the church of St. Bennet, and his will was proved by

[1] See Appendix A, p. 45.

Inigo, as executor, on the 5th of April, 1597. The future architect was then in his twenty-fourth year.

Whatever Inigo's education or profession may have been, he was early distinguished by his inclination for "drawing or designing," and was, we are told by his first biographer, "particularly taken notice of for his skill in the practice of landscape painting."[1] This reputation, it is added, supplied him with a patron; and one of the great lords at Court (either Lord Arundel or Lord Pembroke), attracted by his works, sent him "to Italy, to study landscape painting." Such is the received account, which is at least somewhat doubtful. Inigo's own words, in his book upon Stonehenge, fail to bear it out. "Being naturally inclined," he observes, "in my younger years, to study the arts of design, I passed into foreign parts, to converse with the great masters thereof in Italy, where I applied myself to search out the ruins of those ancient buildings which, in despite of time itself and violence of barbarians, are yet remaining. Having satisfied myself in these, and returning to my native country, I applied my mind more particularly to architecture." When he ceased to be a painter, there is certainly no evidence; but that he had acquired a skill in the art appears by a small landscape from his hand, bought by the Earl of Burlington, and still preserved at Chiswick. "The colouring," says Walpole, "very indifferent, but the trees freely and masterly imagined."

Of this part of Jones's life our only direct information is derived from a passage in the Vindication of Stonehenge, written by Webb, his pupil, kinsman, and executor. "He was," says Webb, "architect-general unto four mighty kings, two heroick queens, and that illustrious and never to be forgotten Prince Henry. Christianus the fourth, King of Denmark,[2] first engrossed him to himself, sending for him out of

[1] Life prefixed to Stonehenge Restored, folio ed., 1725.

[2] Of whom there is a fine full-length portrait, by Vansomer, at Hampton Court. His sister, Anne of Denmark, was the Queen of James I.

Italy, where, especially at Venice, he had many years resided. Upon the first coming of that king into England, he attended him, being desirous that his own native soil, rather than a foreign, should enjoy the fruits of his laborious studies. Queen Anne here honoured him with her service first; and not long after, Prince Henry, under whom with such fidelity and judgment he discharged his trust, as that King James made him his surveyor, in reversion. Prince Henry dying, he travelled into Italy, and returned into England when his place fell."[1] In the assertion conveyed by this passage, that Inigo accompanied King Christianus to England, there is undoubtedly, however, a mistake; for the king did not arrive till the 17th of July, 1606, and Inigo was employed at the English court before that time. But that his stay in Denmark, as Webb tells us, was *long*,[2] there is no reason to doubt; though the nature of his employment is unknown. He is said to have assisted in building part of the palace of Frederiksborg; and the principal court, it has been observed, bears a marked resemblance to the court of Heriot's Hospital, in Edinburgh, which is attributed to Inigo, and not improperly, as I am inclined to believe.[3]

We first hear of Inigo in England in his thirty-second year. The queen of James I. had ordered a Masque to be performed at the Court at Whitehall on Twelfth Night, 1604-5. The poet was Ben Jonson; and this was his, as well as Inigo's, first employment in this way. The title of the Masque was "The Masque of Blackness," and the bodily part, as Jonson tells us, "was of Master Inigo Jones's design and act." It was the first entertainment given by the queen, and the subject of the Masque was a suggestion of her own. "It was her Majesty's will," says Jonson, "to have them blackmoors."

[1] Webb's Vindication, p. 123.

[2] "Mr. Jones living so long in Denmark as he did."—Webb, p. 124.

[3] Andersen Feldborg's Denmark Delineated, p. 88.

The poet's description of Inigo's portion of the work contains the earliest notice we possess of the use of scenery in stage-entertainments:

"First for the scene was drawn a *landtschap*, [landscape] consisting of small woods, and here and there a void place filled with huntings; which falling, an artificial sea was seen to shoot forth, as if it flowed to the land, raised with waves which seemed to move, and in some places the billows to break, as imitating that orderly disorder which is common in nature. In front of this sea were placed six tritons, in moving and sprightly actions, their upper parts human, save that their hairs were blue, as partaking of the sea-colour: their desinent parts fish, mounted above their heads, and all varied in disposition. From their backs were borne out certain light pieces of taffata, as if carried by the wind, and their music made out of wreathed shells. Behind these, a pair of sea-maids, for song, were as conspicuously seated; between which, two great sea-horses, as big as the life, put forth themselves; the one mounting aloft, and writhing his head from the other, which seemed to sink forward; so intended for variation, and that the figure behind might come off better: upon their backs Oceanus and Niger were advanced.....The Masquers were placed in a great concave shell, like mother of pearl, curiously made to move on those waters and rise with the billow; the top thereof was stuck with a cheveron of lights, which, indented to the proportion of the shell, struck a glorious beam upon them, as they were seated one above another: so that they were all seen but in an extravagant disorder. On sides of the shell did swim six huge sea monsters, varied in their shapes and dispositions, bearing on their backs the twelve torchbearers, who were planted there in several graces.....These thus presented, the scene behind seemed a vast sea, and united with this that flowed forth, from the termination or horizon of which (being the level of the state which was placed in the upper part of the Hall) was drawn by the lines of prospective, the whole work shooting downwards from the eye; which decorum made it more conspicuous, and caught the eye afar off with a wandering beauty: to which was added an obscure and cloudy night piece, that made the whole set off. So much for the bodily part, which was of Master Inigo Jones's design and act."[1]

[1] Ben Jonson's Works, by Gifford, vii., 7.

The cost of the Masque was about £10,000 of our present money. Inigo's early practice in painting was no doubt of use to him in drawing "the landscape of small woods, and here and there a void place filled with huntings."

In the autumn of the same year, Inigo was employed on the scenery and devices necessary for the due performance of three plays presented before the king on the 28 August, 1605, in the present Hall of Christ Church, Oxford. Of his success on this occasion a contemporary has left the following account. "They hired one Mr. Jones, a great traveller, who undertook to further them much, and furnish them with rare devices, but performed little to what was expected. He had for his pains, as I have constantly heard, £50." "The stage," so runs the description, "was built close to the upper end of the Hall, as it seemed at the first sight: but indeed it was but a false wall, faire painted, and adorned with stately pillars, which pillars would turn about; by reason whereof, with the help of other painted cloths, their stage did vary three times in the acting of one tragedy."[1]

The Masque of Hymen, on the succeeding Twelfth Night, (1605-6) was also the work of Jonson and Jones. The occasion, though an ill-fated one, was one of great rejoicing and splendour — the marriage of the youthful Earl of Essex (afterwards the Parliamentary general) to Frances Howard, daughter to Thomas Earl of Suffolk, the Lord Treasurer. To Inigo's art, on this occasion, the poet bears ample testimony. "The design and art," he says, "together with the devices and their habits, belong properly to the merit and reputation of Master Inigo Jones, whom I take modest occasion, in this fit place, to remember, lest his own worth might accuse me of an ignorant neglect, from my silence."[2] A Mr. Pory, one of the news-collectors of the day, and in that character pre-

[1] Leland's Collectanea, ii., pp. 631, 646, edit. 1770; Malone's Shakespeare by Boswell, iii., 81.

[2] Ben Jonson, vii., 79.

sent at the Masque, has given an account of it, in a letter to Sir Robert Cotton. "Both Inigo, Ben, and the actors, men and women," he says, "did their parts with great commendation."[1] The music was composed by "Master Alphonso Ferrabosco," and the dances made and taught by "Master Thomas Giles." The dresses were unusually superb; and, it would seem, from one of the short descriptions of Jonson, that Inigo attempted what was then new upon the stage:—

"Here the upper part of the scene, which was all of clouds, and made artificially to swell, and ride like the rack, began to open; and the air clearing, in the top thereof was discovered Juno sitting in a throne supported by two beautiful peacocks; above her, the region of fire, with a continual motion, was seen to whirl circularly, and Jupiter standing in the top, (figuring the Heaven) brandishing his thunder."[2]

The poet was present, and assisted in turning a globe, wherein the masquers sat. The globe was so contrived that it "stood, or rather hung, for no axle was seen to support it."[3]

In the next year's entertainments at Court, Inigo, I believe, was not employed. Jonson certainly was not; for the poet who made the Masque for Twelfth Night, 1606-7, was Thomas Campion, who has left a description of it in print. It is a poor, tame performance, and the printed copy is chiefly valuable for an engraving of one of the masquers, dressed. There is no mention of Inigo's name in the printed account.

The queen's second Masque, the work of Jonson, was "The Masque of Beauty," presented at the Court at Whitehall on the Sunday after Twelfth Night, 1607-8. But Inigo, there is reason to believe, was unconnected with this performance also. "The order of the scene," says Jonson, "was carefully and ingeniously disposed, and as happily put in act (for the motions) by the King's master carpenter. The painters, I must needs say, (not to belie them) lent small colour to

[1] Collier's Annals, i. 366; Gifford's Life of Jonson, p. lxxxviii.

[2] Ben Jonson, vii., 59. [3] *Ibid.*, vii. 78.

any, to attribute much of the spirit of these things to their pencils." The king's master carpenter was William Portington, an officer of the Board of Works, of whom a curious portrait is preserved at Carpenters' Hall. Had Inigo been employed, his name would doubtless have been mentioned by Jonson.

He was, however, employed with Jonson, and at this very time, too, in devising a Masque in celebration of "the Lord Viscount Haddington's marriage at Court on the Shrove Tuesday at night, 1608" (1607-8). The Masque is called "The Hue and Cry after Cupid." "The two latter dances," says Jonson, "were made by Thomas Giles, the two first by Master Hier Herne. The tunes were Master Alphonso Ferrabosco's. The device and act of the scene Master Inigo Jones's, with addition of the trophies. For the invention of the whole, and the verses, Assertor qui dicat esse meos, imponet plagiario pudorem."[1] This is the great Masque mentioned by Rowland Whyte, in a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury: "The great Maske intended for my L. Haddington's marriage is now the only thing thought upon at Court, by 5 English—Lord Arundel, Lord Pembroke, Lord Montgomery, Lord Theophilus Howard, and Sir Robert Rich; and by 7 Scottes — Duke of Lenox, Lord D'Aubigny, Lord Hay, Master of Mar, young Erskine, Sanquhar, and Kennedy. It will cost them about £300 a man."[2]

The Queen's next Masque, also the work of Jonson and Jones, was presented at Whitehall on the 2nd February, 1608-9, and called "The Masque of Queens." "The device of the witches' attire," the poet tells us, "was Master Jones's, with the invention and architecture of the whole scene and machine. Only I prescribed them their properties of vipers, snakes, bones, herbs, roots, and other ensigns of their magic, out of the authority of ancient and late writers, wherein the faults are mine, if there be any found; and for

[1] Ben Jonson, vii., 108. [2] Lodge, iii., 343.

that cause I confess them."[1] And in another place, in the preface to the same Masque, he observes:

"There rests only that we give the description we promised of the scene, which was the house of Fame. The structure and ornament of which (as is profest before) was entirely Master Jones's invention and design. First, for the lower columns, he chose the statues of the most excellent poets, as Homer, Virgil, Lucan, &c., as being the substantial supporters of Fame. For the upper Achilles, Æneas, Cæsar, and those great heroes which these poets had celebrated. All which stood as in massy gold. Between the pillars underneath were figured land-battles, sea-fights, triumphs, loves, sacrifices, and all magnificent subjects of honour, in brass, and heightened with silver. In which he profest to follow that noble description made by Chaucer of the place. Above were sited the masquers, above whose heads he devised two eminent figures of Honour and Virtue for the arch. The friezes both below and above were filled with several coloured lights, like emeralds, rubies, sapphires, carbuncles, &c., the reflex of which with our lights, placed in the concave, upon the masquers habits was full of glory. These habits had in them the excellency of all device and riches, and were worthily varied by his invention, to the nations whereof they were queens. Nor are these alone his due; but divers other accessions to the strangeness and beauty of the spectacle; as the Hell, the going about of the chariots, and binding the witches, the turning machine, with the presentation of Fame. All which I willingly acknowledge for him; since it is a virtue planted in good natures, that what respects they wish to obtain fruitfully from others, they will give ingenuously themselves."[2]

This was high praise, and such as Jones knew how to appreciate.

Inigo's reputation now introduced him to other employment, for I find in the books of the Treasurer of the Chamber to the King the entry of the following payment to him:

"To Inico Jones, upon therle of Salisburies warraunte, dated 16 June, 1609, for carreinge Lres for his Mat^s^ servyce into Fraunce.

xiij^li^. vj^s^. viij^d^."

Of the nature of the service in which he had thus been employed there is no account. "Carrying letters," at this time,

[1] Ben Jonson, vii., 118. [2] *Ibid.*, vii., 152.

was a sort of letter of introduction into good society, and was coveted and often obtained by all who sought distinction either at home or in foreign courts.

The date of the Lord Treasurer's warrant shows the period of Inigo's return to London, where he soon found fresh employment, in assisting his old associate, Ben Jonson, in devising another Masque for the Queen, to be presented at Christmas, 1610-11. The Bill of Costs was discovered by Mr. Devon among the Pell Records, and is the most full and interesting account we have of the cost and getting up of one of these princely and expensive entertainments. Inigo and Ben received the same rewards for their parts in the "invention:"

THE BILL OF ACCOUNT OF THE HOLE CHARGES OF THE QUEEN'S MAT^{s} MASKE AT CHRISTMAS, 1610.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Imprimis, to Mr. Inigo Johnes, as appeareth by his bill .	238	16	10
Item, to Mr. Confesse, upon his bill for the 12 fooles .	16	6	6
Item, to his taylor, for making the suits, as appeareth by his bill	8		
Item, for 128 yeards of fustian to lyne theire coats, att 10^{d} the yeard	5	6	8
Item, for 87 ownces of coper lace, at 18^{d} the ownce, and 6 ownces at 20^{d} the ownce, used for the 11 preests gownes and hoodes, wth shoues and scarfs	7		4
Item, for 24 yeards of riband to beare their lutes, att 12^{d} the yeard, and one dozen at 2^{d} the yeard	1	8	
Item, to the taylor, for making those gownes and hoods .	4		
Item, to the 11 preests, to buye their silke stockings and shoues, at £2 a peece	22		
Item, for 3 yeards of flesh collored satten, for Cupid's coat and hose, at 14^{s} the yeard	2	2	0
Item, for 26 yeards of callico, to lyne the preestes hoods, at 20^{d} the yeard	2	3	4
Item, to the taylor, for making and furnishing of Cupid's suite wth lace and puffs	1	10	
Smã tot. .	£308	14	3

Rewards to the persons imployed in the Maske.

	£
Imprimis, to M^{r}. Benjamin Johnson, for his invention .	40
Item, to M^{r}. Inigo Johnes, for his paynes and invention .	40
Item, to M^{r}. Alfonso, for making the songes . . .	20
Item, to M^{r}. Johnson, for setting the songs to the lutes .	5
Item, to Thomas Lupo, for setting the dances to the violins	5
Item, to M^{r}. Confesse, for teaching all the dances . .	50
To M^{r}. Bochen, for teaching the ladies the footing of 2 dances	20
To the 12 musicions, that were preestes, that songe and played	24
Item, to the 12 other lutes that suplied, and wth fluts .	12
Item, to the 10 violencas that continually practized to the Queen	20
Item, to four more that were added att the Maske . .	4
Item, to 15 musitions that played to the pages and fooles .	20
Item, to 13 hoboyes and sackbutts	10
Item, to 5 boys, that is, 3 Graces, Sphynks, and Cupid .	10
Item, to the 12 fooles that danced	12
Smā tot. .	£292

Further received from the King's Wardrobe of Sir Roger Aston.

	£.	s.	d.
Imprimis, of severall collered taffite, for 12 fooles and 3 Graces, 52¼ ells, att 17^{s} the ell	44	8	3
Item, of crimson taffite, for the 11 preestes, amounting to 55 els, and M^{r}. Confesse his coate being in the number, att 17^{s} the ell	46	15	
Item, of watched Satten, for the preestes hoods and gorgetts, 26 yeards, 3 quarters, att 15^{s} the yeard . . .	19	19	9
Item, of taffite sarsnett, for scarffs to girde their gownds, being 18 ells, at 8^{s} the ell	7	4	
Smā tot. .	£118	7	
Total charge	£719	1	3

(Signed) T. Suffolke. E. Worcester.

The Masque for which these expenses were incurred is "Love freed from Ignorance and Folly," a Masque of his Majesty's, printed in the folio edition of Jonson's works, without a date. Sphynx and Cupid are two characters in the Masque. The twelve Fools were she-fools. The Graces and Priests are also mentioned.

A Masque was part of the entertainment at Court on the 5th June, 1610, the day after Prince Henry's being created Prince of Wales.[1] Inigo was employed on this occasion, not, however, with his former associate, Jonson, but with Samuel Daniel — the "well-languaged Daniel," as he was called by his contemporaries. The name of the Masque was "Tethys Festival, or the Queen's Wake," and the poet awarded to Inigo an unusual share of commendation. "But in these things," says Daniel, "wherein the only life consists in shew, the art and invention of the *architect* gives the greatest grace, and is of most importance, *ours* the least part, and of least note in the time of the performance thereof, and therefore have I intersected the description of the artificial part, which only speaks M. Inigo Jones." This is higher praise than Jonson had awarded Inigo, and Jones's vanity was not untouched by the distinction. Daniel and Jonson were at this time on unfriendly terms; and the way in which the former speaks of a Masque as a trifling matter for a poet, conveys a sneer at Jonson, which none knew better how to value and return.

The youthful Prince, in honour of whose creation this Masque was composed, had now a separate household of his own; and Inigo's influence or reputation was such, that he obtained the appointment of Surveyor of the Works in the new establishment. The fees he received are recorded in the roll of the Prince's expenditure:

"Inigoe Jones, Surveyor of the Woorkes, for his fee, at iij^{s} per diem,

[1] Birch's Life of Prince Henry, p. 195.

for one whole yeare and a halfe and xl^{tie} dayes, begonne the 13th January, 1610[1], and ended at the feast of S^{t}. Michael the Archangel, 1612. lxxxviij. ij. vj^{d}."

"Inigoe Jones, Surveyor of the prince's Woorkes, for his fee by lres pattentes, at iij^{s} per diem, for xxxvij dayes, begonne the first of October, 1612, and ended the vjth of November followinge . . . . cxj^{li}."[1]

The same roll contains the Prince's "Gifts and Rewards," with Inigo's name on the list for £30—equal to £120 of our present money. Henry understood and appreciated art, and had formed a fine collection of pictures and statues, which made no inconsiderable display in the cabinets and galleries completed by his brother, King Charles I.

The Prince found employment for his Surveyor in devising the machinery and dresses for a Masque presented at Court on New-year's day at night, being the 1st of January, 1610-11. The cost of the Masque includes a payment to Inigo:[2]

"THE PRYNCE'S MASKE.

"Payde to sondrye persons, for the chardges of a Maske presented by the Prince before the Kinges ma^{tie} on Newyeres day at night, beinge the first of Januarie 1610, viz.:—

To Mercers	289	8	5
Sylkemen	298	15	6
Haberdashers	74	8	8
Embroderers	89	16	9
Girdelers and others, for skarfes, beltes, and gloves	74	8	0
Hosyers, for silke stockinges, poyntes, and rybbons	49	16	
Cutler	7	4	0
Tyrewoman	42	6	
Taylors	143	13	6
Shoemaker	6	10	
To Inigoe Jones, devyser for the said Maske	16		
In all	£1,092	6	10

[1] Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court, (printed for the Shakespeare Society) p. xvi.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. viii.

"The Prince's Masque" was written by Ben Jonson, and in his Works is called "Oberon the Fairy Prince, a Masque of Prince Henry's." There is no quarto copy of the Masque, but it is included in the excellent folio of Jonson's Works, printed in 1616.

The office of Surveyor terminated with the death of the Prince, on the 6th of November, 1612. There were others besides Inigo who had reason to regret the loss of such a master, "the glory of our own," as Jonson calls him, "and the grief of other nations." The regret for a time appeared to be deep and general; but the Court, quickly casting off its mourning, rushed, in less than three months, into a succession of magnificent masques and entertainments, to celebrate the marriage of the Palsgrave with the Princess Elizabeth.

Three Masques, by three different poets, were invented in honour of this occasion. The Lords' Masque, presented on Shrove Tuesday, 14 February, 1612-13, was the work of Campion; the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn Masque, presented at Court on the day after, was the performance of Chapman; and the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn Masque, intended for Shrove Tuesday, and presented at Court on the Saturday following, was the work of Francis Beaumont. Inigo was employed on Chapman's Masque, and, I believe, on no other. Chapman's title is curious, and deserves transcription.

"The Memorable Maske of the two Honorable Houses, or Inns of Court, the Middle Temple and Lyncoln's Inne. As it was performed before the King, at White-Hall, on Shrove Munday at night: being the 15 of February, 1613 [1612-13]. At the Princely celebration of the most Royall Nuptialls of the Palsgrave, and his thrice gratious Princesse Elizabeth, &c. With a description of their whole show; in the manner of their march on horse-backe to the Court from the Maister of the Rolls his house: With all their right Noble Consorts, and most showfull attendants. Invented and fashioned, with the ground and speciall structure of the whole worke, By our Kingdomes most Artfull and Ingenious Architect, Innigo Iones. Supplied, aplied, Digested, and written, By Geo: Chapman." [4to., n.d.]

The performers and their assistants made their "rendezvous" at the Rolls' House, in Chancery Lane, and rode through the Strand, past Charing Cross, to the Tilt-yard at Whitehall, where they made one turn before the King, and then dismounted. The performance was in the Hall (a fine old building, destroyed in the reign of William III.); and the works, as invented and fashioned by "our kingdom's most artful and ingenious architect," are thus described:

"First there appeared at the lower end of the Hall an artificial Rock, whose top was near as high as the Hall itself. This Rock was in the undermost part craggy and full of hollow places, in whose concaves were contrived two winding pair of stairs, by whose greeces the persons above might make their descents, and all the way be seen: all this Rock grew by degrees up into a gold colour, and was run quite through with veins of gold....On the one side of the Rock, and eminently raised on a fair Hill, was erected a silver Temple, of an octangular form, in one of the carved compartments of which was written 'HONORIS FANVM.'"

"Upon a pedestal," (in front, I suppose, of the Temple) "was fixed a round stone of silver, from which grew a pair of golden wings, both faigned to be Fortunes. On the other side of the Rock was a grove. After the speech of Plutus, the middle part of the Rock began to move, and being come some five paces up towards the King, it split in pieces with a great crack, and out break Capriccio," a leading speaker in the Masque. The pieces of the rock "then vanished," and Capriccio delivered his speech. The next change exhibited the upper part of the Rock suddenly turned to a Cloud, discovering a rich and refulgent Mine of Gold, in which the Twelve Maskers were triumphantly seated; their Torch-bearers attending before them. "Over this golden Mine, in an Evening Sky, the ruddy Sun was seen to set; and behind the tops of certain White Cliffs by degrees descended, casting up a bank of clouds, in which awhile he was hidden."

This "Memorable Mask" was doubtless what the poet

himself has called it, "a showe at all parts so novel, conceitful, and glorious, as hath not in this land beene ever before beheld." The cost to the Society of Lincoln's Inn alone was £1086 8*s.* 11*d.*[1]

Inigo's income suffered considerably by the untimely death of the Prince of Wales. His prospects, too, were altered; but he was not without friends, or wanting in that self-reliance without which friends are of very little use. He was, moreover, a free man, with the means to travel, partly through his own exertions, but chiefly, there is reason to believe, by the patronage of the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, now certainly vouchsafed to him. He made a second visit to Italy, taking books of authority with him, and making memoranda wherever he went. His copy of Palladio (the folio edition of 1601), preserved at Worcester College, Oxford, contains an entry dated "Vicenza, Mundaie, the 23rd of September, 1613;" and one of his Sketch books (a thin octavo, in a parchment cover, with green strings, now in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire) exhibits his name on the fly-leaf, with "Roma, 1614," written in his fine, bold hand, beneath it.

The copy of Palladio is as rich with notes in Inigo's handwriting as the Langbaine, in the British Museum, is with the notes of Oldys.[2] One of his entries commences thus: "In the name of God, Amen. The 2 of January, 1614, I being in Rome, compared these desines following with the Ruines themsealves. Inigo Jones." At folio 64 he has written, "The staires at Chambord I saw, being in France, and there are but 2 wayes to ascend, y^e^ small hath a waal, w^h^ windowes cut out, but this, y^t^ seems, was discoursed to Palladio, and he invented of himseelf thes staires." His Palladio

[1] Dugdale's "Origines Juridiciales," p. 285.

[2] This precious volume belonged subsequently to Michael Burghers, the engraver, of whom it was bought 3rd March, 1708-9, by Dr. Clarke, and bequeathed by him to Worcester College.

was his inseparable companion, wherever he went; and contains the names of "Andrea Palladio" and "Inigo Jones," coupled together in his own handwriting—such was his admiration, and such his ambition. At b. iv., p. 41, occurs the following entry: "The Temple of Jove, vulgarly called frontispicio di Nerone, or a basilica, sum call it a Temple of the Sun, and that is likelyest." The book was with him, as appears from his own entries, at "Tivoli, June 13, 1614;" at "Rome, 1614;" at "Naples, 1614;" at "Vicenza, 13 Aug., 1614;" and at London, "26 January, 1614;" *i.e.*, 1614-15. Nor did he cease to carry his Palladio about with him even in his progresses in England, as Surveyor of the Works. The following is written on a fly-leaf.

"The length of the great courte, at Windsour, is 350^{fo}, the breadth is 260: this I mesured by paaces the 5 of december, 1619.

"The great court at Theobalds is 159^{fo}, the second court is 110^{fo} square, the thirde courte is 88^{fo}—the 20 of June, 1621.

"The front of Northampton Ho.[1] is 162^{fo}, the court is 81^{fo}.

"The first court at Hampton Court is 166 fo square.

"The second fountaine court is 92^{fo} broade and 150^{fo} longe.

"The Greene Court is 108^{fo} broade and 116^{fo} longe, the walkes or cloysters ar 14^{fo} betwene the walles. September the 28, 1625."

Of the Temple of Jove he thus writes, June 13, 1639. "Clemente scoltor Romano tould mee that the ruines of this temple is pulld all downe, to haue the marble, by the Constable Barbannos Collona, by the popes permition: this was the noblest thinge which was in Rome in my time. So as all the good of the ancients will bee utterly ruined ear longe."

On the death, in 1615, of Simon Basil, the Surveyor of the Works, Inigo returned to England to take possession of the office, of which the King had granted him the reversion.[2] His pay commenced from the 1st of October in that

[1] Now Northumberland House, Strand. See Cunningham's "Handbook for London," *article* Northumberland House.

[2] Webb, p. 123.

year; at the rate of eight shillings a day for his entertainment, eighty pounds per annum for his "recompense of availes," and two shillings and eight pence a day for his riding and travelling charges. His riding expenses were subsequently raised, but the fees I have quoted were the fees of the office at the period of his appointment. He had other emoluments. The warrant to the Master of the Wardrobe, on his first appointment, dated 16 March, 1615-16, directs that he should receive "five yards of broad cloth for a gown, at twenty-six shillings and eight pence the yard; one fur of budge, for the same gown, price four pounds; four yards and a half of baize, to line the same, at five shillings the yard; for furring the same gown, ten shillings; and for making the same, ten shillings." The cost of the livery was therefore £12 15*s.* 10*d.*; and this sum was paid to him yearly, as Surveyor of the Works, by the Master of the Wardrobe.[1]

That the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke at this time (if not before) were active in bringing the merits of Inigo before the King, evidence exists in a letter from Lord Arundell to his Countess, dated from "Salisbury, 30 July, 1615:"

"Upon Thursday nexte, the Kinge dineth at Wilton, by which time my lo. of Pembroke hopes M^r^. Jones will be come hither. I tell him I hope he will, but I cannot promise, because I spake not with him of it when I came out of towne. I meane (by God his grace) to be at Arundell on Tuesday or Wednesday, come seavennight, w^ch^ is the eighth or ninthe of Auguste: if M^r^. Jones come hither, I will bringe him w^th^ me; if not, you must w^th^ you."

And in a postscript he adds:

"I make noe question but Mr. Jones will soone speake w^th^ M^r^. Oldborough, and have under his hand some certainty of his disbursements and employment in Rome. I am sure Mr. Jones will, in his bargayne

[1] Appendix B, p. 46.

w^th^ Cimandio, include that picture of his father and uncle w^ch^ hanges amonge the rest."[1]

Of the particular purchases which Inigo made while at Rome, for his munificent patron, I am sorry I can give no account. The Earl understood and was fond of every class and description of art. The Arundelian marbles at Oxford, and his patronage of Inigo, Vandyke, and Hollar, will long familiarize and commend his name to the English ear.

Inigo's new appointment found full employment for his time. Our kings had numerous palaces and manor-houses, and were fond of Progresses. There was, consequently, no lack of work. The Surveyor was either riding to superintend repairs, or returning homeward to devise fresh alterations, or busy inspecting the work that had been in hand while the Court was in progress. The pressing nature of his duties occasioned, at times, additional rewards, a few of which I have been fortunate enough to discover in the Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber:

"To Inigoe Jones, Surveyo^r^ of his Ma^ts^ Workes, the Comptroller, M^r^. Carpenter, and Clerke of the Woorkes at Whitehall, vpon the Councells warr^t^, dated *xv^to^ Nouembris*, 1620, for performing certen workes in the Starchamber in ffebruary 1616, January and February 1618, and Aprill and Maye 1619, by the space of fortie dayes, and for making of a Hearse for the Queenes funerall . . . . . l^li^.

"To Inigoe Jones, Surveyo^r^ of the Woorkes, Thomas Baldwyn, Comptroller, and Will^m^ Portington, M^r^. Carpenter, upon the Councells Warr^t^, dated *ultimo Decembris*, 1620, for makeing readye and repayringe Elye House, in Holborn, for the Spanish Ambassador . . . xx^li^."

He was, moreover, occasionally employed (and with Jonson, there is reason to believe) in devising scenes and machinery for Masques and entertainments at Court. I say *occasionally*, for this sort of expensive amusement, during the latter half of the reign of James I., was of rarer occurrence than it had

[1] Tierney's History of Arundel, p. 424.

been earlier. The King had other tastes and fresh claims for his money; another architect had been introduced, in Inigo's absence;[1] and the two great contrivers of such inventions, Jones and Jonson, had unfortunately quarrelled.

The first occasion of their quarrel no one has told us; that it occurred, however, as early as 1619, is clear, from Jonson's Conversations with Drummond in that year. "He said to Prince Charles, of Inigo Jones, that when he wanted to express the greatest villaine in the world, he would call him ane Inigo;" and on the same occasion he observed that, "Jones having accused him for naming him, behind his back, a fool, he denied it; but, says he, I said, He was ane arrant knave, and I avouch it."[2] A reconciliation seems to have been effected, for they were again employed together as before. We shall see, however, that this reconciliation was not lasting; and that, after a short interval, there was a second and a fiercer quarrel.

The dispute with Jonson was varied by a piece of good fortune to Inigo. On Tuesday, the 12th of January, 1618-19, while Jonson was in Scotland, the old Banqueting House at Whitehall was destroyed by fire, and Inigo was ordered to erect a new building, of the same character, on the same site. He was made for such an emergency, as Wren afterwards was for a still greater opportunity. Nor is there, in the history of art, a more remarkable instance of successful rapidity than Inigo exhibited on this occasion. In less than six months after the fire which destroyed the whole building, the ground was cleared—Inigo ready with his design—and the first stone of the new Banqueting House laid. The latter took place on the 1st of June, in the same year (1619).

[1] This was Constantine, an Italian, described by Campion (1614) as "M. Constantine, an Italian, Architect to our late Prince Henry." He is not mentioned by Walpole.

[2] "Ben Jonson's Conversations with Drummond of Hawthornden," (printed for the Shakespeare Society) pp. 30, 31.

What was thought of the design may be gathered from the following entry in the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber:

"To Inigo Jones, upon the Counsells warr^{t}, dated 27th June, 1619, for making two several models, the one for the Star Chamber, the other for the Banquetting House . . . . . xxxvij^{li}."

This payment to Jones escaped the researches of Vertue and the inquiries of Walpole; but a still more curious discovery, unknown to the same assiduous antiquaries, is the roll of the account of the Paymaster of the Works, of the "Charges in building a Banqueting House at Whitehall, and erecting a new Pier in the Isle of Portland, for conveyance of stone from thence to Whitehall"—a singular roll preserved at the Audit Office among the Declared Accounts. The sum received by the Paymaster was £15,648 3*s.* The expense of the Pier was £712 19*s.* 2*d.*, and of the Banqueting House, £14,940 4*s.* 1*d.*; the expenditure exceeding the receipts by £5 0*s.* 3*d.* The building was finished on the 31st March, 1622; but the account, it deserves to be mentioned, was not declared (*i.e.*, finally settled) till the 29th of June, 1633, eleven years after the completion of the building, and eight after the death of King James: a delay confirmatory of the unwillingness of both father and son to bring the works at Whitehall to a final settlement. Inigo's great masterpiece is described, in this Account, as "a new building, with a vault under the same, in length 110 feet, and in width 55 feet within; the wall of the foundation being in thickness 14 feet, and in depth 10 feet within ground, brought up with brick; the first story to the height of 16 feet, wrought of Oxfordshire stone, cut into rustique on the outside and brick on the inside; the walls 8 feet thick, with a vault turned over on great square pillars of brick, and paved in the bottom with Purbeck stone; the walls and vaulting laid with finishing mortar; the upper story being the Banqueting House, 55 feet in height, to the laying on of the roof; the

walls 5 feet thick, and wrought of Northamptonshire stone, cut in rustique, with two orders of columns and pilasters, Ionic and Composite, with their architrave, frieze, and cornice, and other ornaments; also rails and ballasters round about the top of the building, all of Portland stone, with fourteen windows on each side, and one great window at the upper end, and five doors of stone with frontispiece and cartoozes; the inside brought up with brick, finished over with two orders of columns and pilasters, part of stone and part of brick, with their architectural frieze and cornice, with a gallery upon the two sides, and the lower end borne upon great cartoozes of timber carved, with rails and ballasters of timber, and the floor laid with spruce deals; a strong timber roof covered with lead, and under it a ceiling divided into a fret made of great cornices enriched with carving; with painting, glazing, &c."

The master-mason was Nicholas Stone, the sculptor of the fine monument to Sir Francis Vere, in Westminster Abbey. His pay was 4*s.* 10*d.* the day. The masons' wages were from 12*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* the man per diem; the carpenters were paid at the same rate; while the bricklayers received from 14*d.* to 2*s.* 2*d.* the day. These were, I am inclined to believe, rather low rates of remuneration. The Crown, pinched in its expenditure, and ambitious of great undertakings, was often obliged to force men into its employment. This I gather from the Accounts of the Paymaster of the Works, which contain a yearly gratuity "to the Knighte Marshall's man for his extraordinary attendaunce in apprehending of such persons as obstinately refuse to come into his Majesty's Workes." The gratuity was often eight, and occasionally ten pounds.

While the works at Whitehall were in progress, a commission was appointed by the Crown "to plant and reduce to uniformity Lincoln's Inn Fields, as it shall be drawn by way of map or ground plot by Inigo Jones." A careful elevation, or view (painted in oil-colours), of Inigo's plan is

still preserved at Wilton House, the princely abode of the Pembroke family. The view is taken from the south, and the principal feature in the elevation is Lindsey House, on the centre of the west side, which, with its stone façade, stands boldly out from the brick houses which support it on either side. This house, which still remains, was built for Robert Bertie, Earl of Lindsey, General of the King's forces at the outbreak of the Civil War, under Charles I. The front still continues to be admired, though now seen to great disadvantage, from the loss of the handsome-shaped vases which originally surmounted the open balustrade at the top. The internal accommodation was never good; yet the house was long inhabited by persons of distinction, and was for some time the residence of the proud Duke of Somerset. The proportions of the square, which are seen to advantage in the plan at Wilton, are those, it is said, of the base of the Great Pyramid.

Of Inigo's business pursuits at this period he gives the following account, in a letter to Lord Arundel—the only letter of his writing which seems to have been preserved:

"*To the Right Ho^ble the Earle of Arundell and Surre, of his Ma^s most ho^ble Privi Councell.*

"Right Ho^ble,

"In my jorney to London, I went to Hā. Courte, whear I hearde that the Spanish imbassador came to Kingson, and sent his stewarde to Hā. Courte, who looked on the loginges intended for the imbassador, w^ch weare in M^r. Hugines his roomes, but the steward utterly dislyked thos roomes, sainge that the imbassador wold not lye but in the house: besides, ther was no furnitur in thos roomes, or bedding, or otherwyse, nether for the imbassador or his followers: so the stewarde retorning to his lorde, he resolved only to hunt in the parke, and so retorne. But the keeper answered, he might not suffer that, he having receved no order for it; so the imbassador went bake discontented, having had sum smarte sporte in the warrine. But since, my lo. of Nottinghā hearing of this, sent to the imbassador, to excuse the matter, w^ch the imbassador

tooke verry well, and promised to cō and lie at Hā. Courte before his ma^{tics} retorne; but in my opinion, the fault was chiefly in the imbassador, in not sending a day or two before, to see how he was provided for, and give notice what wold please him.

"Wee have satt on the cōmsion for buildinges, on Monday last, to put in mynd thos who are bound by recognizance, or otherwyse, to conforme.

"The plan of all the incroachments about Paules is fully finished. I hearr that the masons do begin to make up that part of the east end w^{ch} they have demolished, not well,—but with uneven courses of stone. I am now going to the m^{r}. of the wards, to tell him of itt.

"M^{r}. William was verry merry at his departure, and the busshope and he are the 'greatest' friends that may be.

"After my departure for London, many of the masons went awaye wthout leave, but since, some of thē ar retorned; and, for the rest, yf your lo^{ps} do shewe sum exemplary punishment, causing thē to be sent up as malyfactors, it will detter the rest frō ever doing the lyke.

"The Banqueting-house goith on now well, though the going of the masons awaye have byne a great henderance to it.

"Thus, with my humble dutye, I rest

"Your Honours ever to be commanded,

"Inigo Jones.[1]

"Y^{e} 17 of August, 1620."

The "Commission for buildings," to which he refers, was a commission of inquiry into the number and nature of the new buildings erected in London since the accession of James I. Inigo was a member of this commission, and also of a commission formed in 1620 for conducting the repairs at old St. Paul's.

It was at Wilton, in 1620, during one of the royal Progresses, that Inigo was sent for by the Earl of Pembroke, and "received his Majesty's commands to produce, out of his own practice in architecture, and experience in antiquities, whatever he could possibly discover concerning Stonehenge." The result of his inquiries appeared in a folio volume, published three years after his death, from "some few undigested

[1] Tierney's History of Arundel, p. 436.

notes," which Inigo had left behind him, and which Webb, who calls them such, had "moulded" together, for the purpose of publication. Inigo declared, it is well known, that Stonehenge was a Temple of the Tuscan order, raised by the Romans, and consecrated to the god Cælus—the origin of all things. This monstrous supposition (for such it certainly is) was attacked by Dr. Charlton, and vindicated by Webb; but Inigo and Webb have found no followers, and the wild theory of the great architect is only another illustration of the ignorance of the learned. Inigo was a courtier; and his rough notes, after all, contain perhaps less of his own views upon the subject, than of ingenious illustrations of the hypothesis of the learned sovereign by whose command he had entered on the inquiry.

His next work was the chapel at Lincoln's Inn, commenced in the year 1618, and consecrated on Ascension Day, 1623; Dr. Donne preaching the consecration sermon. This is a piece of well-proportioned bastard Gothic, standing on an open crypt, or cloister, in which the students of the Inn were accustomed to meet and confer, and receive their clients. Sir Christopher Wren's cloisters, in the Temple, were re-erected, after the Great Fire of 1666, for the very same purpose. The Doric pilasters, in the Lincoln's Inn crypt, are curious illustrations of Inigo's love of Romanizing every thing. But it is good Gothic, for the time; and far truer to the details of style, than any thing that Wren chose to pass for Gothic on the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, or on the parish authorities of the City of London.

Two of his best performances belong to this period of his life—the chapel for the Infanta, at Somerset House, in the Strand, destroyed by Sir William Chambers, when the present Government offices were erected on the site of the Protector's palace; and the beautiful watergate to the town house of Villiers Duke of Buckingham, which is still to be seen on the banks of the Thames, at the bottom of the pre-

sent Buckingham Street. The front of the chapel faced the Thames, and presented an harmonious elevation of a rustic arcade with five arches, and five well-proportioned windows between Corinthian pilasters, duplicated at either end. The water gate (quite a masterpiece of architectural harmony) may be looked upon as only a portion of a great building. It was Inigo's misfortune, and our own misfortune as well, that he was not permitted to do much more, on any occasion, than indicate how successful he would have been, had his whole idea been carried into execution. King James's necessities limited Whitehall Palace to a portion only (the Banqueting House): the assassin's knife restricted York House to an instalment only (a water gate): and the Civil War, under Charles I., stopped the restoration of St. Paul's at the magnificent west portico.

The three last Masques which King James lived to see represented, were the joint inventions of Inigo and Jonson. These were called, "Time Vindicated to Himself and to his Honours," acted at Court on Twelfth Night, 1622-3; "Neptune's Triumph for the Return of Albion" (meaning Prince Charles), represented on Twelfth Night, 1623-4; and "Pan's Anniversary, or the Shepherd's Holiday," performed in the early part of 1625. The scene, at the representation of "Time Vindicated," "was three times changed during the time of the Masque, wherein the first that was discovered was a prospective of Whitehall, with the Banqueting House; the second was the Masquers in a Cloud; and the third a Forest." Of the scenery or success of the other Masques we have no account.[1] That the "inventors" were not now at variance may be fairly supposed from the circumstance, that in two of Ben Jonson's Masques, subsequently presented before King Charles I. and his Queen, Inigo was the associate of the poet. "Chloridia," the last represented, was also the last in which Jonson and Jones were joint inventors.

[1] Ben Jonson, viii., 2; Collier's Annals, i., 438.

The cause of their quarrel is related by Mr. Pory, in a letter to Sir Thomas Puckering:—

"The last Sunday, at night, the King's Masque was acted in the Banqueting House.....The inventor or poet of this Masque was Mr. Aurelian Townshend, sometime steward to the Lord Treasurer Salisbury; Ben Jonson being for this time discarded, by reason of the predominant power of his antagonist, Inigo Jones, who, this time twelvemonth, was angry with him for putting his own name before his in the title-page; which Ben Jonson has made the subject of a bitter satire or two against Inigo.[1]

"Jan. 12, 1631-2."

The Masque which gave the offence to Inigo was "Chloridia," already mentioned; "the inventors Ben Jonson, Inigo Jones." This was the last of Jonson's Court entertainments; and the new poets introduced by Inigo's influence were Townshend, Carew, Shirley, Heywood, and Sir William Davenant. Inigo had now pretty nearly his own way with the poets' title-pages, and the poets themselves are very grateful to the proud and powerful architect who had brought them forward. "The subject and allegory of the Masque," says Townshend, "with the descriptions and appearances of the sceanes, were invented by Inigo Jones, Surveyor of His Majesty's Works."[2] —"The scene and ornament," says Shirley, "was the art of Inigo Jones, Esquire, Surveyor of His Majesty's Works."[3] Davenant was still more courteous. "The invention, ornaments, scenes, and apparitions, with their descriptions, were made by Inigo Jones, Surveyor-General of His Majesty's Works; what was spoken or sung, by William Davenant, his Majesty's servant."[4] "So much for the subject it selfe," says Heywood; "but for the rare decorements which new apparell'd

[1] Gifford's Memoirs of Ben Jonson, p. clx.

[2] "Tempe Restored," 4to., 1631. [3] Shirley's Works, vi., 284.

[4] "Salmacida Spolia, a Masque, presented by the King and Queen's Majesties at Whitehall, on Tuesday the 21st day of January, 1639." 4to. 1639.

it, when it came the second time to the Royall viewe, (Her Gratious Majestie then entertaining His Highnesse at Denmarke-House, upon his Birth-day) I cannot pretermit to give a due character to that admirable Artist, M^r. Inego Jones, Master Surveyor of the King's Work, &c., who to every Act, nay, almost to every sceane, by his excellent Inventions, gave such an extraordinary luster; upon every occasion changing the stage, to the admiration of all the spectators: that, as I must ingenuously confesse, it was above my apprehension to conceive; so to their Sacred Majesties, and the rest of the auditory, it gave so general a content, that I presume they never parted from any object, presented in that kind, better pleased or more plenally satisfied." Carew is not so complimentary — for he sins in Jonson's way, by placing his own name before Inigo's, on the title-page. But Carew was "one of the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, and Sewer in Ordinary to his Majesty," and therefore could do as he liked.

Jonson, poor, old, and supplanted at Court by the influence of his former associate, sharpened his pen for what he has called "An Expostulation with Inigo Jones;" or, as he has called him, on another occasion, Iniquo Jones.[1] Gifford is inclined to think that only a portion of this satire proceeded from Jonson; but that his view is erroneous is proved by the discovery of a copy of the Expostulation among the Bridgewater MSS., in Jonson's own handwriting.[2] The great dramatist laughs at the "velvet suit" of the great architect, and exclaims, satirically,

> "Painting and Carpentry are the soul of Masque;"

while he sneers at what Inigo would like still worse,

> "Thy twice conceived, thrice paid for imagery."

The truth is that Jones wanted, as Jonson has it, to be the

[1] Entertainment at Bolsover, 30 July, 1634.

[2] Collier's New Facts, p. 49.

Dominus Do-All of the work, and to engross all the praise. This is Gifford's view, who adds—not unjustly, I am inclined to think—that "an obscure ballad-maker, who could string together a few rhymes, to explain the scenery, was more acceptable to him than a man of talent, who might aspire to a share of the praise given to the entertainment."

But a paper of couplets, though written, as Howell phrases it, with a porcupine's quill dipt in too much gall, was not enough for Jonson; and the "Master Surveyor" was introduced as Vitruvius Hoop into the poet's next new play. Inigo was angry, and his interest at Court very naturally exerted to suppress the part; successfully, too, it would appear, from the following entry in the Office-Book of the Master of the Revels:

"R[eceived] for allowinge of The Tale of the Tubb, Vitruvius Hoop's parte wholly struck out, and the motion of the tubb, by commande from my lorde chamberlin; exceptions being taken against it by Inigo Jones, surveyor of the Kings Workes, as a personal injury unto him. May 7, 1633—£2 0*s.* 0*d.*"[1]

It argues, it has been said, somewhat of a querulous and waspish disposition in Inigo to raise so loud an outcry on this occasion. "For aught that appears," says Gifford, "he might have passed unnoticed, and Medley and his Motions been trusted to the patience of the usual audience, without any essential injury to his reputation."[2] But Gifford, when he wrote this, had wholly overlooked the curious circumstance, that the character of Vitruvius Hoop is not to be found in the play, as it has come down to us. It is easy to believe that the puppet motions in the piece would not have effected the reputation of Inigo; but the original character of Vitruvius Hoop, we may fairly assume, was extremely personal, for "In and In Medlay of Islington corpus and

[1] Malone's Shakspeare by Boswell, iii., 232.

[2] Gifford's Ben Jonson, vi., 237.

head-borough," a softened Vitruvius Hoop, retains enough to mark and hold up Inigo and his peculiarities to public ridicule:

"*Squire Tub.* Can any man make a Masque here, in this company?
To-Pan (*a tinker*). A Masque? What's that?
Scriben (*the great writer*). A Mumming or a Shew,
With vizards and fine clothes.
Clench (*the farrier*). A disguise, neighbour,
Is the true word. There stands the man can do't, sir;
Medlay, the joiner, In-and-In, of Islington,
The only man at a disguise in Middlesex.
Squire Tub. But who shall write it?
Hilts. Scriben, the great writer.
Scriben. He'll do't alone, sir; he will join with no man,
Though he be a joiner, in design he calls it,
He must be sole inventer. In-and-In
Draws with no others in's projects; he will tell you
It cannot else be feazible, or conduce:
Those are his ruling words, please you to hear 'un?
Squire Tub. Yes; Master In-and-In, I have heard of you.
Medlay. I can do nothing, I.
Clench. He can do all, sir.
Medlay. They'll tell you so.
Squire Tub. I'd have a toy presented,
A Tale of a Tub, a story of myself.
You can express a Tub?
Medlay. If it *conduce*
To the design, whate'er is *feasible:*
I can express a wash-house, if need be,
With a whole pedigree of Tubs.
Squire Tub. No; one
Will be enough to note our name and family,
Squire Tub of Totten, and to shew my adventures
This very day. I'd have it in Tub's Hall,
At Totten-Court, my lady-mother's house;
My house, indeed, for I am heir to it.
Medlay. If I might see the place, and had survey'd it,

I could say more: for all invention, sir,
Comes by degrees, and on the view of nature;
A world of things concur to the design,
Which makes it *feasible*, if art *conduce*."

There is more of this; but Inigo had his revenge. This, the last play of the illustrious author, was maimed by his old associate; and, when performed at Court by the Queen's players, was, as the Master of the Revels briefly records in his Office-Book, "not liked."[1] Jonson was old in years, feeble in body, and poor in purse. Jones, too, was old (he was of the same age as Jonson), but his health was good—and his purse full.

Whilst this petty quarrel was at its height, Inigo lost his friend, George Chapman the poet, with whom he appears to have lived on terms of the strictest intimacy. I have already had occasion to refer to the warm language of approbation bestowed by the translator of Homer upon Inigo, in his printed account of the memorable Masque in which they had been united. But Chapman was not content with this single encomium. To Inigo he inscribes his translation of Musæus; and Inigo repaid the poet's compliment and friendship by erecting a monument to his memory in the churchyard of St. Giles's in the Fields, where, on the south side of the church, it is still to be seen.

His next works of importance, in the higher line of his profession, were the great West Portico of old St. Paul's, and the Queen's House at Greenwich. St. Paul's was in a sad state of decay, and it was the wish of the King and of Archbishop Laud that the whole edifice should have been rebuilt by Inigo. This will account for the unseemly addition he is accused of making, when he placed a classic portico before a Gothic cathedral. It was not as a part of old St. Paul's that Inigo designed his magnificent west front, but as an instalment of a new building. The King under-

[1] Malone's Shakspeare by Boswell, iii., 236.

took the whole repairs, without having, or wishing to have, as he has himself expressed it, "any to share in the honour of that particular with us:"[1] and the new structure which Jones erected was worthy of the situation and the King's liberality. The nave of old St. Paul's had been too long desecrated, as a lounge, or place of general meeting, for people in quest of news; for dinnerless persons, to dine with Duke Humphrey; and for servants out of employment, in search for masters. Inigo's portico was designed to remove this desecration from the nave to the exterior of the building; and, in order to get ample room for the numbers who frequented the building, the church of St. Gregory, by St. Paul's, was marked out for removal by the ambitious architect. A parish church in Inigo's days, however, was not so easily removed as modern architects have since found such matters to be; and every interest and exertion were made by the local authorities to preserve their church. One of the North family (to whom we are indebted for so much curious contemporary knowledge) has given the following account, in a News-Letter of the time:

"The business of S^t^. Gregories church was moved by my lord and me to many of the great lords, who concluded the King's resolution for removing the church was fixed, and would not be altered upon any reason the parish or we could alledge to the contrary. My lord treasurer [Juxon, Bishop of London] cannot save the Hall and Chapel of London House; but down they must go, to make a clear passage about Paul's Church."[2]—*Sir John North to Dudley North, March* 22, 1637.

Old St. Paul's is described by Fuller as being truly the mother church, having one babe in her body—St. Faith's—and another in her arms—St. Gregory's. It was the church in her arms that Inigo began to remove, and would have soon demolished, had the King's affairs been at the time in a more

[1] Wilkins's Concilia, iv., 492.

[2] Gentleman's Magazine for October, 1846, p. 384.

prosperous condition. But it was now Inigo's turn to be annoyed. The parishioners of St. Gregory laid their complaint before the House of Commons, and the Commons sent it on to the Lords, with a Declaration appended, that the parishioners deserved redress, and that proceedings should be taken against the King's architect for the demolition he had caused. The Complaint of the parishioners has not reached us, but the Declaration of the Commons contains some curious characteristics of Inigo's manner.[1] He is accused of saying that he would not undertake the repairs at St. Paul's, "unless he might be the sole monarch, or might have the principality thereof"—a harmless charge, indeed, but personally interesting, from the curious confirmation it supplies to the truth of Jonson's satire. The rest is, however, more offensive. He first pulled down a portion of the church, and then threatened, "that if the parishioners would not take down the rest of it, then the galleries should be sawed down, and with screws the materials of the said church should be thrown down into the street;" but finding this of no avail, he further threatened, "that if they did not take down the said church, they should be laid by the heels." The Declaration of the Commons brought Inigo before the House of Lords, and his answer to the charge was that he was not guilty of the offence in such manner and form as the Declaration expressed. Inigo gained time in this way, but the decision was against him; and the great architect not only saw his noble work of re-construction at a stand-still, but the very stones he had quarried and conveyed to the city made over to the parishioners of St. Gregory's for the rebuilding of their church.[2]

The Queen's House at Greenwich was begun by Anne of Denmark, Queen of James I., and completed by Henrietta

[1] Nalson's Collections, vol. ii., p. 728.

[2] Dugdale's St. Paul's, 2nd ed., 1716, p. 146.

Maria, the Queen of Charles I.[1] The name of Henrietta, and the date, 1635, the period of its completion, are still to be seen on the front of the building. It is now the Naval School; and when viewed from the river, stands as it were in the very centre of Greenwich Hospital. The interior decorations were by Horatio Gentileschi; and one of his ceilings, but much damaged, is still to be seen in the saloon. The old palace of our sovereigns at Greenwich stood westward of the Queen's House; and the small fragment facing the river—all that is now standing—contains six pilasters, with the caricature faces which Gerbier ridiculed in the works of Inigo and Webb. Charles II. set about the rebuilding of the Palace, and Webb was employed as Denham's assistant, in its reconstruction.[2] The portion rebuilt by Webb—from, it is said, the design of Jones—was introduced by Wren into the general arrangement of Greenwich Hospital, and still forms the river front of the west side of the great square.[3]

Another important work of this period of Inigo's career was the Theatre of the Hall of the Barber-Surgeons in Monkwell Street, in the city of London. The room contained four degrees of cedar seats, one above another, in elliptical form, adorned with figures of the seven Liberal Sciences, the twelve signs of the Zodiac, and a bust of King Charles I. The roof was an elliptical cupola.[4] This, as Walpole calls it, "one of the best of Jones's works," was repaired, in the reign of George I., by the Earl of Burlington, the architect, and pulled down in the latter end of the last century, and sold for the value of the materials. "The designe of the Chirurgeon's Theatre," an oval, dated "1636," is pre-

[1] Philipott's Survey, p. 162; Lysons' Environs, iv., 436, 453.

[2] Evelyn, 19 October, 1661; 24 January, 1661-2.

[3] Appendix D, p. 48.

[4] Hatton's New View of London, 8vo., 1708, p. 597.

served in the portfolio of Jones's drawings at Worcester College, Oxford.

While Jones was disputing with the parishioners of St. Gregory, and actively engaged in rebuilding the Cathedral of St. Paul, he was also employed in planning the great square, or Piazza, of Covent Garden, for the Earl of Bedford. The square was formed about the year 1631, though never completed; and, as I believe, never designed in full. The Arcade, or Piazza, was carried along the whole of the north and east sides; the church completed the west; and the south was girt by a grove of trees, and the garden-wall of Bedford House, in the Strand. The northern side was called the Great Piazza; the eastern side, the Little Piazza.[1] "In the Arcade," says Walpole, "there is nothing very remarkable; the pilasters are as errant and homely stripes as any plasterer would make." This is true to the present appearance of the Arcade, though hardly true in Walpole's time, when the whole elevation remained as Inigo had built it, with stone pilasters on a red brick frontage. The pilasters, as we now see them, are lost in a mass of compo and white paint; the red bricks have been whitened over, and the pitched roofs of red tile replaced with flat slate.

The church, the leading feature in the square, was commenced in 1631, and not finished or even consecrated till the 27th of September, 1638. When the Earl of Bedford sent for Inigo, he told him he wanted a chapel for the parishioners of Covent Garden; but added, he would not go to any considerable expense. "In short," said he, "I would not have it much better than a barn." "Well, then," replied Jones, "you shall have the handsomest barn in England." It was built originally of brick, with Tuscan columns of stone, to the portico, and a roof covered with red tiles. Jones was present at its consecration by Juxon.[2] Lord Burlington

[1] Cunningham's Handbook for London, *article* Piazza.

[2] Harl. MS., in British Museum, No. 1831.

repaired it with care and reverence in 1727; and in 1795, on its total destruction by fire, it was rebuilt of stone, by the elder Hardwick, on the plan and in the proportions of the original structure. Of the first church built by Inigo there is a view by Hollar.

This was the last of his works; for, though he lived fourteen years longer, with his mind unimpaired, and his portfolio full of noble designs for palaces and private houses—the Civil War diverted men's thoughts and means from the peaceful employments of architecture, and found for the King and his nobility other and sterner occupations than superintending squares, or rebuilding palaces. The stones quarried to restore St. Paul's were taken, we have seen, to rebuild St. Gregory's: Whitehall was left unfinished: Greenwich was a mere fragment of a large design: and the masons and workmen in the squares of Lincoln's Inn and Covent Garden took to arms, and fought for King, or Commons, as interest or inclination led them. Poets, actors, and engravers, were alike thrown out of their usual occupations. Davenant, the Poet-Laureate, became lieutenant-general of ordnance, under the King; Wither, Governor of Farnham, for the Parliament; while Robinson, the actor, Hollar, Peake, and Faithorne, the engravers, and one still greater, Inigo Jones himself, were taken with arms in their hands at the siege of Basing.[1]

The history of the twelve last years of his life, if authentically written, would be little more, there is reason to believe, than a history of anxieties and disappointments. He was not only imprisoned, but was fined for his loyalty. His office of Surveyor was at the best but nominal; for he was neither employed as Surveyor, nor paid as one. But he had saved money, which in those perilous times he was at a loss how to preserve. There were others in the same difficulty;

[1] Carlyle's Cromwell, ii., 259, 2nd edition.

and Inigo, uniting with Nicholas Stone, the sculptor, buried his money in a private place near his house, in Scotland Yard. That he had all the fears which Pepys, in a similar situation, so well describes, it is not too much to imagine; and he had need for alarm. The Parliament published an order, encouraging servants to inform of such concealments; and, as four of the workmen were privy to the deposit, Jones and his friend removed it privately, and with their own hands buried it in Lambeth Marsh.

He had now survived the friends to whom he was indebted for his advancement, the poets with whom he had been associated, and the patrons to whom he owed his appointments. He had lived to see King Charles beheaded in the open street, before his own Banqueting House, at Whitehall—Ben Jonson and Chapman at rest, in Westminster Abbey and the churchyard of St. Giles in the Fields—and the Earl of Arundel and both the Earls of Pembroke, William and Philip, gathered to their ancestral vaults. Grief, misfortunes, and old age, at last terminated his life. He died at Somerset House, in the Strand, on the 21st June, 1652,[1] in his seventy-ninth year, and on the 26th of the same month was buried, by his own desire, by the side of his father and mother, in the church of St. Bennet, Paul's Wharf, where a

[1] The blunders about the period of Jones's death are almost beyond belief. Antony Wood says he died 21 July, 1651, and adds—"so I have been informed by the letters of James Webb, of Butleigh, in Somersetshire, Gentleman, son of John Webb, who married the cousin-german of the said Inigo Jones" (Ath. Oxon., ii. 423, ed. 1721). Kennet says he died 22 May, 1651 (Ath. Oxon., by Bliss, iii., 806). Walpole copies Wood; and Walpole's editor (Dallaway) correcting his author, says he was buried 26 June, 1632. Allan Cunningham says he died in June, 1653 (Lives of British Artists, vol. iv., p. 138). I have examined the Register of St. Bennet's, and find that he was buried 26 June, 1652. The errors about Webb's relationship to Inigo are equally absurd. Some call him his nephew, others, his son-in-law. He was neither.

monument of white marble, for which he left one hundred pounds, was erected, with the following inscription:

Ignatius Jones, Arm.
Architectus Reg. Mag. Brit. celeberrimus
Hic jacet.
Aul. Alb. Reg. ædificavit
Templum D. Pauli restauravit:
Natus Id. Julii MDLXXII.
Obiit xi[x] cal. Junii MDCLI[I].
Vixit Ann. lxxix D^es^ xxx iix.

Uxoris Patruo amantissimo
Præceptori suo meritissimo
Hæres et Discipulus
Posuit Moerens Johan. Webb.[1]

It stood against the north wall, at some distance from his grave, and was destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666.[2] I could wish that Wren, in rebuilding the church, had rebuilt the monument.

He was never married, and the bulk of his property he bequeathed to John Webb, his executor, described, in his will,[3] as having married "Ann Jones, my kinswoman." Webb was a native of London, and educated at Merchants Tailors' School. He was also the pupil of Jones, and succeeded to his master's collection of designs, of which he made good use. He wrote, as has been already mentioned, "A Vindication" of Inigo's "Stonehenge Restored;"[4] and died 24 October, 1672, at Butleigh, in Somersetshire, on the same

[1] Kennet, in Wood's Ath. Ox., by Bliss, iii., 806.

[2] Wood's Ath. Ox., iv. 753. [3] Appendix E, p. 49.

[4] The dedication is dated from Butleigh, in Somersetshire, 25 May, 1664; and the book was published in folio in 1665. Catherine Webb, the grand-daughter of the architect, and the last of the Webbs of Butleigh, married a Mr. Riggs; but neither of them survived their marriage, or each other, above ten days. The widow left the Right Honourable

day that he made his will. His wife was his executrix, and all his "library and books, and all prints, and cuts, and drawings of architecture," were left to his son, William Webb, with strict injunctions that they should be kept together. How long this injunction was obeyed, I am not aware: but the collection — or at least a large part of it — belonged, in Aubrey's time, to Oliver, the City Surveyor,[1] and subsequently to Dr. Clarke and the Earl of Burlington. Dr. Clarke's collection was bequeathed by him to Worcester College, Oxford, where it is still to be seen; and the Earl of Burlington's portion has since descended to the Duke of Devonshire. Of Oliver's Collection I can find no other account than Aubrey's. That Jones's library was a good one, for the period in which he lived, may be inferred from Peacham; who observes, in his "Complete Gentleman," that he could only find Vasari in the library of Inigo Jones and in one other library.

His face is rendered familiar to us by the noble portraits of Vandyck, to whom he sat at least twice. The finished picture went, with the Houghton Collection, to St. Petersburgh, but the sketch *en grisaille*, engraved by Hollar, in 1655, for the first edition of the "Stonehenge Restored," is in this country, and is now in the possession of Major Inigo Jones, 11th Hussars, who has caused the picture to be carefully engraved, at his own expense, for the present account of the life of his great relative.[2] Vandyck and Jones were

James Grenville heir to her estate at Butleigh; from whom it descended to the present Dean of Windsor, the great-nephew of Mr. Grenville. The Webbs purchased it of the Symcocks.

[1] Aubrey's Lives, ii., 411. "Mr. Oliver, the City Surveyor, hath all his papers and designs, not only of St. Paul's Cathedral, &c., and the Banqueting House, but his designs of all Whitehall, suitable to the Banqueting House; a rare thing, which see."

[2] A portrait of Inigo, by Vandyck, in the possession of Lord Darnley, was exhibited at the British Institution, in 1820. Lord Yarborough has a clever copy of the portrait, *en-grisaille*, introduced into a composition

asked together to the dinners of the Painters' Stainers' Company, as appears by an entry in the Company's books; an honour which was considerable, and looked upon as such. They were friends; and Inigo's skill "in designing with his pen" was described by Vandyck "as not to be equalled by whatsoever great masters of his time, for boldness, softness, sweetness, and sureness of his touches."[1] Notices, however trifling, that relate to two such men, cannot be devoid of interest, even to the general reader.

Inigo lived in Scotland Yard,[2] was a Roman Catholic, and paid periodical fines to the overseers of the poor of St. Martin's in the Fields, for the privilege of eating flesh in Lent. The necessity that rendered the privilege requisite is unknown; but that he had his ailments may be gathered from the following prescription, written with his own hand at the end of his companion Palladio:

"*For the spleene and vomiting mellencoly—my owne.*

"Take capers, and first wash of the vineger with warme water, then sett them on the fier in a scillett, and lett them boyle up on or too waumes, and take them of and straine the water from them in to a cullender, and kepe them in a pipkin: take aurance and wash them well, and then plump them on the fiere, and straine them out in to a cullender,

picture of ornaments, implements, &c. Major Inigo Jones has a copy of the Houghton picture which was given to a member of his family by Speaker Onslow, who considered it to be an original; but it is too poor for Vandyck's own hand. Lot 65 of the first day's sale of Vertue's pictures, was "A Head of Inigo Jones," said to be by "Vandyke." There is an original portrait of him on the staircase at the Ashmolean: but it is not like the received portraits, and is a poor performance. His head, engraved in an oval by Villamoena, and set in a kind of mural tablet, has this inscription:

INIGO . JONES . ARCHITECTOR .
MAGNAE . BRITANIAE
F . VILLAMOENA . F

This was engraved in Jones's life-time. Villamoena died about 1626.

[1] Webb. [2] Appendix C, p. 47.

and keep them in an other pipkin; take too spunfules, or less, of each of thes, mix them togeather, and eat them for a breakfast, and you may drink after them. This cured mee of the sharpe vomitinges w^{ch} I had hadd 36 yeares, but it is the frequent youse of them that doth the effect. This also hath cured many of the stoppinges of the spleene, who I have taught it to. I sumtimes youse sallett oyle with them, but it must bee verry good. I doe many times eat them with meat for a sallett, when I can not eate them in the morning."

To this he has added a marginal note—"Aproved by many, as my Lo. Newcastell, M^{r}. Herbert, M^{r}. Ouldsworth." The date of the entry is about 1638.

Among the works actually erected, assigned on good grounds to Inigo, and not already mentioned, I would include the following:—The Cabinet for the King's pictures at Whitehall, and the Queen's Chapel, at St. James's; a front at Wilton—since disfigured—and a grotto at the end of the water; the middle parts of each end of the quadrangle, at St. John's College, Oxford; Cobham Hall, in Kent, built for the Duke of Richmond and Lenox, and now the seat of Lord Darnley; Coleshill, in Berkshire, built for Sir Mark Pleydell, and now the seat of the Earl of Radnor; the Grange, in Hampshire, the seat of Lord Ashburton, and since altered by the late Mr. Wilkins. "It is not a large house," says Walpole, who writes before the alterations, "but by far one of the best proofs of his taste—the hall, which opens to a small vestibule, with a cupola, and the staircase adjoining, are beautiful models of the purest and most classical antiquity"; a gate at Oatlands, still standing; a gate at Holland House, Kensington, still there, but stupidly divided; a gate at Beaufort House, Chelsea, removed by Lord Burlington to Chiswick; and Wing, in Buckinghamshire, pulled down by Sir William Stanhope. One of the best examples of his art is omitted by his biographers—Ashburnham House, in Westminster, which is still standing, with its noble cupola and staircase. Some of the houses in Great Queen Street,

Lincoln's Inn Fields, in one of which the great Lord Herbert of Cherbury died, were of his design, and carry the fleur-de-lys, in compliment to Queen Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV., of France. There is a tradition preserved by Bagford, that the present Queen Street was originally designed as a square, and that it was built at the charge of the Jesuits.[1]

Among the works of a more doubtful character, attributed to Inigo, the following may be named:—Albins, in Essex; Pishiobury, in Hertfordshire, built for Sir Walter Mildmay; Charlton House, in Kent, built for Sir Adam Newton; Amesbury, in Wiltshire; Gunnersbury, near Brentford; Chevening, in Kent; the front to the garden of Hinton St. George, in Somersetshire; a front at Castle Ashby, in Northamptonshire; Chilham Castle; the tower of the church at Staines, where he is said to have lived some time; a part of Sion House, near Brentford; Brympton, in Somersetshire, the mansion of Sir Philip Sydenham; part of the church of St. Catherine Cree, in Leadenhall Street; a bridge at Gwydder, in Wales, on the estate of the Duke of Ancaster; Drumlanrig Castle, in Dumfrieshire; Heriot's Hospital, in Edinburgh; and the more modern part of Glamis Castle.[2] Amesbury and Gunnersbury (now no longer standing) were built by Webb, perhaps from Inigo's designs, and others are of an earlier or a later date. The Council Room of Heriot's Hospital is quite in Inigo's manner, and I am inclined to think that the whole building was of his design.

That the designs of Inigo were not restricted to a new Whitehall, and palaces at Greenwich, Newmarket, and in the Strand (on the site of Somerset House), the portfolio of his drawings at Worcester College affords most striking evidence. In this valuable folio are found, "upright for my Lord Maltravers his house at loatsbury, 1638"—

[1] Cunningham's Handbook for London, *article* Queen Street.

[2] Sir Walter Scott's Misc. Works, xxi., 97.

"Mr. Surveyor's designe for Sr Peter Killigrew's house in the Blackfriars"—"ceiling of the Countess of Pembroke's bed-chamber"—"ceiling of the great staire at Wilton"—"for the ceiling in the Cabinet-Room, Wilton, 1649"—"ceiling of the Countess of Carnarvon's bed-chamber"—"ceiling of the Countess of Carnarvon's withdrawing-room"—an enriched and gilt ceiling, in panels, for York House, with the Duke of Buckingham's motto, "Fidei Coticula Crux," worked in, as on the Water Gate; "wainscott and moulds for the Consultation Room at Physician's College," dated 1651, and marked "not taken;" with designs for temples, (Parthenon-like, with statues and pediments filled with sculptures) for churches, one which Gibbs must have seen, and another with obelisks on towers—"for a Fountain in a Wall at Greenwich, 1637"—for "Exchanges or Merchants' Piazzas"—and for the "Office of the Works at Newmarket." In the same folio I observed an exquisite pencil drawing for a portion of the Banqueting House, with the statues; an early and different design for the church in Covent Garden; a most delicately pencilled drawing of the Portico to St. Paul's, with the statues; a design "for the modell of the Star Chamber," dated 1617; and two "uprights" (one especially fine and large) "of the Palace at Somerset House," dated "1638," and marked "not taken;" an elevation and ground-plot for a new house for the Earl of Pembroke, on the site of Durham House, in the Strand, and signed "John Webb." The ground-plot is marked "not taken," and dated 1649.

Besides the original Sketch Book already mentioned, of which a few copies have been made in complete facsimile, the Duke of Devonshire possesses, as Mr. Collier informs me, a collection of designs for habits and Masques at Court, mounted in two folio volumes; some boxes of architectural drawings, many perhaps by Webb; and others of roughly-coloured designs for scenery in Masques, carrying upon them the splashes of the distemper colour with which the scenes

were painted. A small collection of his plans for shifting scenery in Masques is preserved among the Lansdowne MSS.[1] in the British Museum.

I cannot conclude this account of the Life of Inigo Jones without pointing out a singular and important error which Walpole commits, in his account of Jones: an error perpetuated by Allan Cunningham, and by other authors who have written the life of the great architect. Walpole ascribes to Philip Herbert, fifth Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, some rambling, incoherent, manuscript notes, written about Jones in the first edition of the "Stonehenge Restored," formerly in the Harleian Library. That these notes, however, could not have been written by Philip, the eccentric Earl, may be determined by a couple of dates. The Earl, who is said to have written them, died in 1650, and the book in which they are written was published in 1655.[2]

PETER CUNNINGHAM.

Victoria Road, Kensington,
28 September, 1849.

[1] Lansdowne MSS., No. 1171.

[2] The notes in question were written, I suspect, by Sir Balthazar Gerbier. I may be excused, perhaps, for mentioning in a note (and my readers perhaps will thank me for the information), that by far the best account of Inigo's New Whitehall and of his magnificent West Portico of St. Paul's will be found in the fourth volume of Allan Cunningham's Lives of British Artists.

APPENDIX

TO

THE LIFE OF INIGO JONES.

A.

[*From the Book of Orders and Decrees of the Court of Requests, preserved in the Chapter House at Westminster.*]

Jones } Decimo octavo die Novembris, A°. R. Rne Elizabethe, &c.
Baker } xxxij°. [1589].

Uppon the opening and debating of the matter in varyance depending in the Quenes Ma^tyes honorable Court of Requests, betweene Enego Jones, of the Cittie of London, Clothworker, compl^t, and Richard Baker, of the same cittie, Baker, def^t, concerning in effect the stay of the proceeding of the said def^t in an action of debte by him heretofore commenced at the common lawe against the compl^t, uppon an obligation wherein the same pl^t standeth bound unto the def^t in the some of fowerscore poundes, with condition for the sure payment of lx^li at a day certen limited by the said condition, some part of which said debte of lx^li the said comp^t by his bill alledgeth to be heretofore by him satisfyed and payed unto the said def^t. And that for the residue of the said debte beinge xlviij^li, yt was compounded and agreed betweene the said pl^t and def^t that he, the same def^t, would accept and receave the same at the handes of the pl^t, after the rate of x^s euery moneth, untill the said debte of lx^li were fully satisfyed and payed, as by the said compl^ts bill more at large is sett furthe and alledged—for the full and finall ending of which said cause yt is this day by the Quenes Ma^ty said counsaill of this said Court, by and with the full consent and agreement of both of the said parties and of their counsaill learned—ordered and decreed that the said

compl^{t} shall forthwith confesse the said action so being commenced against him at the common lawe uppon the sayde obligation as is before declared; and that immediately upon the confession thereof an indenture of defeasance or covenants shalbe made betweene the said parties, by and with the consent of the said counsaill learned of both the said parties, whereby it shalbe covenanted and agreed betwene them, that if he, the said comp^{t}, or his executors or assignes, or any of them, shall hearafter continue the true payment of the said somme of tenne shillinges unto the said def^{t}, his executors or assignes, monethly, every moneth, x^{s}, one consequently ensuinge another, untill the said remaynder of the said debte of lx^{li}, being fiftie five poundes, be fully satisfied and payed, the first payment thereof to commence the last day of the moneth of December next, that then neither he, the said def^{t}, his executors or assignes, nor any of them, shall heareafter at any time take any advantage or sue for any execution against the said pl^{t}, his executors, or assignes, uppon the said action so being by him confessed, as is aforesaid: And if the sayde compl^{t} shall heareafter at any time make any defaulte of the said monethly payment of the said somme of x^{s}, yet notwithstanding it is by the said counsaill, by and with the full consent of the said partie def^{t} ordered that neither he, the same def^{t}, his executors or assignes, nor any of them, shall heareafter at any time sue any execution uppon the said confession of the said action untill such time as he, the said def^{t}, his executors or assignes, shall haue made her Ma^{ties} said Counsaill of this said Court, which then shalbe for the time being, privie and acquainted of the said breache or default of payment of the said somme of x^{s} monethlie, and that thereuppon the said def^{t} shall for non payment thereof obteine license of her Ma^{ties} said Counsaill of this said Court, to take execution against the said comp^{t}, uppon the said confession, for so much as to them shall then appeare to remaine unsatisfied of the said debte of lx^{li} before mentioned, and not above.

B.

[*Addit. MS., British Museum, No. 5,755 Original.*]

James R.

Wee will and comaund you, imediatlie upon the sight hereof, to deliuer, or cause to be deliüered, unto o^{r} welbeloued servaunt, Inigo

Jones, whome wee have appointed to be S^r^veyor of o^r^ Works, in the roome and place of Simon Basill, deceased, these p^r^cells hereafter following for his Lyverie, That is to saie, five yards of broad clothe for a gowne, at twentie six shillings and eightpence the yard, one furr of Budge for the same gowne, price four pounds; four yards and a half of baies, to lyne the same gowne, at fiue shillings the yard: for furring the same gowne ten shillings; and for making the same gowne ten shillings. And further o^r^ pleasure and comandement is, that yearlie, from henceforth, at the feaste of All Saints, you deliuer or cause to be deliuered unto the said Inigo Jones, the like p^r^cells, for his Livery, w^th^ the furring and making of the same, as aforesaid, during his naturall lief. And these o^r^ Lres, signed w^th^ our owne hand, shalbe yo^r^ sufficient warrant, dormant, and discharge, in that behalf. Given under o^r^ signet, at o^r^ Pallace of Westm^r^, the sixteenth day of March, [1615-16] in the thirteenth yeare of o^r^ raigne of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, and of Scotland the nine and fortieth.

To o^r^ right trustie and welbeloued James Lord Hay,
M^r^. of o^r^ Greate Wardrobe now being, and to the
M^r^. of the same that hereafter for the time shalbe.

JAMES HAY.

C.

[*Audit Office Enrolments, vol. ii., p.* 404.]

Charles, by the Grace of God, &c.—to the Threar and underthrear of or Exchequ^r^ now being, and w^ch^ hereafter from the tyme shalbe, and to all other our officers and ministers to whome it may appertaine—Greeting. Whereas the Surveyors of the Workes unto our predecessors haue formly had a dwelling house in o^r^ pallace of Westminster belonging unto them, as incident to that place, untill the same was to their preiudice alienated from them: And forasmuch as we are given to understand that in the tyme of o^r^ late deare father, King James, of happye memory, deceased, one Symon Basill, Esqe, being then Surveyor of the Workes, had a dwelling house in the office of o^r^ workes, called Scotland yeard, w^ch^ house, together w^th^ some storehouses there, being pulled downe by the sayd Symon Basill, hee procured a Lease of that part of the said yard, and built severall houses thereupon for his owne private benefitt, soe as o^r^ Surveyor

hath paid a ffine, and is answerable for a yearely rent to the value of forty sixe poundes p. ann. for one of the houses. Wee doo therefore make known to you, o^{r} said Threar and Underthrear, that of o^{r} speciale grace and ffavor unto o^{r} trustie and welbeloved Servant, Inigo Jones, Esq^{r}, now Surveyor of o^{r} Workes, as well in consideracion of his good and faithfull service done both to our said late deare ffather and to us, as for diverse other good consideracions us hereunto moving, wee are pleased to give and graunte unto him the some of forty sixe pounds of currant money of England p^{r} ann., for the rent of his said dwelling house, and doe by these presents will and command you, aswell the officers of o^{r} Workes, to enter the same monethly, wth other allowaunces and enterteynem^{te}, as alsoe the paymaster of o^{r} said workes now being, and that hereafter for the tyme shalbe, out of o^{r} Treasure from tyme to tyme remayning in his handes and custodie, to pay unto the said Inigo Jones the said allowaunce of fortie sixe poundes p^{r} ann., for the rent of his sayd house, in such manner as other allowaunces and entertey^{ts} of that office are usually paid, the first payem^{t} to begin from the ffeast of the Annunciacon of the blessed Vergine Mary last past before the date hereof, and to continue during his naturall life. And these o^{r} lres shalbe sufficient warr^{t} and discharge, aswell to the said Payemaster of o^{r} workes, for the due paye^{t} of the sayd some of fortie sixe poundes pr ann., as to the Auditors of o^{r} Imprests and all other o^{r} officers whom it may concern, for giving allowaunce thereof from tyme to tyme upon his Accomptes. Given under o^{r} signet, at o^{r} pallace of Westminster, the third day of Aprill, [1629] in the ffifth yeare of o^{r} Raigne.

D.

[*Audit Office Enrolments, vol. vi., p.* 129.]

Charles R.

Trusty and welbeloved, Wee greet you well. Whereas wee haue thought fit to employ you for the erecting and building of Our palace at Greenwich, Wee doe hereby require and authorize you to execute, act, and proceed there, according to your best skill and judgment in Architecture, as our Surveyor Assistant unto S^{r} John Denham, K^{nt} of the Bath, Surveyor General of Our Works, with the same power of executing, acting, proceeding therein, and graunting of Warrants for

stones to be had from Portland, to all intents and purposes, as the said Sir John Denham have or might have: And hereof the officers of Our Workes, and Hugh May, Esq., Paymaster of the same, are to take notice and accordingly to conforme unto this Our Royal Pleasure: And Our further Will and Pleasure is, that the said Officers and Paymaster doe and shall from tyme to tyme make allowance and payment unto you of the salary of Two Hundred Pounds pr ann., with your trauelling Charges upon our services as the said Sir John Denham hath, and that the said salary of Two Hundred Pounds per ann. and trauelling Charges be entred monthly in the Bookes of Accompt of Our Officers' Entertainement, and payment made thereof, according to the said entry, out of the first Moneys that shall be receaued after it is entred, with proporconable arreares to be paid unto your Executors or Assignes since the beginning of January, 1663: and the same to continue during Our Pleasure; Giuen at our Court at Whitehall, the 21st day of November, 1666: in the eighteenth year of Our Raigne.

By his Ma^ties^ Comaund,

WILL MORICE.

To Our Trusty and Welbeloued
John Webb, of Butleigh, in Our
County of Somerset, Esq^re^.

Let the Orders establisht for the present payments of the Ordinary of the Office of the Workes be duly kept, and not interrupted by this or any other Warrant that concernes any prticular Workes. But that observed, let M^r^. Webb be paid this Salary and Arreares out of those Monies that are or shalbe assigned particularly unto the building of His Ma^ts^ Workes. And the Auditors of the Imprest are to allow the same.

February 28th, 1666.

T. SOUTHAMPTON.

E.

THE WILL OF INIGO JONES.

Extracted from the Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

In the name of God, Amen. I, Inigo Jones, of the Parish of S^t^. Martin in the Feilds, in the County of Midd., Surveyor of the Works to the late King and Queens Mat^s^, aged seaventy-seaven yeares, being in perfect

health of mind, but weake in body, doe make and ordayne this my last Will and Testament in manner and forme ffollowing. That is to say, Imprimis, I commend my Soule to Almighty God, hopeing by ye death and passion of my Saviour, Christ Jesus, to have remission of my Sinnes and attayne vnto eternall life. My body to the Earth, to bee buried in the Church of S^{t}. Bennett, Paul's Wharfe, London. For the expences of my ffunerall I doe appointe one hundred pounds, and for the erecting of a Monument in memorie of mee, to bee made of white marbele, and sett upp in the Church aforesayd, I doe likewise appoint one hundred pounds.

Item, I give and bequeathe to Richard Gammon, of the parish of S^{t}. Mary Savoy, in the County of Midd., aforesayd, who maried Elizabeth Jones, my kinswoman, the summe of fiue hundred pounds, and the halfe of my weareing apparrell.

Item, I giue and bequeath to Mary Wagstaffe, my kinswoman, the summe of one hundred pounds, to be reserved in the hands of my Executor heereafter named, or Richard Gammon, aforesayd, to bee bestowed as they shall think fitt for her preferment, either by mariage or otherwise.

Item, I give and bequeath one hundred pounds, to bee equally devided amongst the fiue Children of the said Mary Wagstaffe, which she had by Henry Wagstaffe, deceased, her late husband, to bee bestowed for their preferment as shalbe thought best fitt by my Executor and Richard Gammon, aforesayd; and in case any of the sayd Children dye before their portion of the said one hundred pounds bee disbursed, then the part and portion of the Child so dying to bee equally devided towards the advancement of the other which survive.

Item, I give and bequeath vnto John Damford, of the Parish of S^{t}. Martin in the Feilds, Carpenter, the summe of one hundred pounds.

Item, I giue and bequeath unto Stephen Page, for his faythful service, one hundred pounds.

Item, I giue and bequeath vnto Anne Webb, my kinswoman, the sume of two thousand pounds, to bee layd out for a joynture for her by my Executor, within one yeare after the proving of this my Will.

Item, I give and bequeath to the fiue Children of my Executor, by the said Anne Webb, one thousand pounds.

Item, for all the debt which is due and oweing to mee for my enter-

taynement and service to the late King and Queene, I doe thereof bequeath vnto Henry Wicks, Esq^r^, Paymaster of the Works, the summe of fifty pounds, to be payd within one moneth after the sayd debt shall be received, and the remaynder to bee equally devided betweene my Executor and Richard Gammon, aforesayd.

Item, I giue and bequeath vnto the poore of S^t^. Martin's Parish, the summe of tenn pounds, to bee payed within one moneth after the proving of this Will.

Item, I give and bequeath vnto the poore of S^t^. Bennett's Parish, aforesaid, the summe of tenn pounds, to be payd within one moneth after the proveing of this Will.

Lastly, I doe heereby make, ordeyne, and appoint John Webb, of the Parish of S^t^. Martin in the Feilds, in the County of Middx, (who maried Anne Jones, my kinswoman) the sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament, and Henry Cogan, of the said Parish, Esquire, and Henry Browne, of the Parish of St. Mary Savoy, aforesaid, Esq^re^, to bee the Overseers of this my last Will; and for their care and paynes therein I doe heereby bequeath tenn pounds apeece to each of them. And I doe heereby alsoe make void and of none effect all former Wills, Acts, or Deeds, whatsoever, and doe by these presents declare this to bee my last Will and Testament. In Witnesse whereof I have herevnto sett my hand and seale[1] the two and twentieth day of July, Anno Dñi, 1650.

INIGO JONES.

Signed, sealed, and delivered, by the said Inigo Jones, and by him published and declared to be his last Will and Testament, in the presence of WILLIAM BELL—HENRY BROWNE—H. COGAN—W^m^. GAPE—and GODF. AUSTINSON.

This Will was Prooued at London beefore Sir Nathaniel Brent, Knight, Doct^r^ of Laws, and Master or Keeper of the Prerogative Court, the four and twentieth day of August, 1652, in the name of John Webbe, the Executor of the said Will, hee beeinge first sworne faithfully to Ad'ster, as in the Acts of Court appeares.

[1] The seal is a fine antique head.

Ballet-Singer.

Tripodding

Lamsfeld
Duaß
Sanin

Irish
Irish
Scotch

Ballet singer

A Brother of the Rosicros.
Scogan Scolton
Aery Spirit

REMARKS ON THE COSTUME, ETC.,

OF SOME OF THE

SKETCHES BY INIGO JONES.

BY

J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ.

REMARKS ON THE COSTUME, ETC.,

OF SOME OF THE

SKETCHES BY INIGO JONES.

In a brief history of Stage Costume which I wrote some years ago for Mr. Charles Knight's first volume of "Table Talk," I observed that the valuable labours of Mr. Wharton, in his "History of English Poetry," and of Mr. Payne Collier, in his "Annals of the Stage," had brought to light many curious details of the expenses attending the getting up of pageants and dramatic shows, during the reigns of Henry VI., Edward IV., Richard III., and Henry VII.; while the Chronicles of Hall and Hollinshed were replete with descriptions of the gorgeous masqueradings of our eighth Harry and his splendid court. In addition to this information, the "Extracts from Accounts of the Revels at Court," in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., edited by Mr. Peter Cunningham, and "Henslowe's Diary," edited by Mr. Collier, both which volumes are in the hands of our members, have supplied us with a mass of incidental notices, illustrative of the costume and properties displayed in the dramas and masques of the Shakesperian era.

The great liberality of his Grace the Duke of Devonshire now enables the Council to bring the aid of the pencil to the labours of the pen, and enrich the libraries of our subscribers with facsimiles of drawings made by the celebrated Inigo

Jones, if not during the lifetime, very shortly after the decease of Shakespeare, and which place before us not only the habits in which the Masques of his contemporary, Ben Jonson, were enacted, but in two instances, undoubtedly, the dress of characters in Shakespeare's own immortal productions. To commence, therefore, with these two most interesting illustrations:

PLATE I.

Presents us with the Palmer's, or Pilgrim's dress, worn by Romeo in the Masquerade scene, the figure being simply subscribed "Romeo," in pencil, in the original. It is the usual costume of such personages, consisting of a long loose gown, or robe, with large sleeves, and a round cape covering the breast and shoulders; a broad-leafed hat, turned up in front, and fastened to the crown by a button, apparently, if it be not intended for a small cockle-shell, the absence of which customary badge would otherwise be the only remarkable circumstance in the drawing. In the left hand of the figure is the *bourdon*, or staff, peculiar to Pilgrims. The modern representatives of Romeo have inaccurately carried a cross. In the text of the play, Romeo insists on bearing a torch.

> "Give me a torch: I am not for this ambling;
> Being but heavy, I will bear the light."

> "A torch for me: let wantons, light of heart,
> Tickle the senseless rushes with their heels;
> For I am proverbed with a grandsire phrase:
> I'll be a candle-holder, and look on."

And the only indication of his being in a Pilgrim's habit is derived from Juliet's addressing him, "Good Pilgrim," &c. The drawing is therefore most interesting authority for the actor; and it is probable that Mercutio, Benvolio, and the "five or six maskers," were also attired in similar dresses;

as, at this period, the parties attending such entertainments appeared generally in *sets* of six or eight shepherds, wild men, pilgrims, or other characters, preceded by their torch-bearers, music, and sometimes, as Benvolio intimates, "a cupid hoodwinked with a scarf, bearing a Tartar's painted bow of lath," or some other allegorical personage, to speak a prologue, or introductory oration, setting forth the assumed characters and purpose of the maskers.

PLATE II.

JACK CADE.

Jack Cade, the notorious rebel, introduced by Shakespeare in the Second Part of Henry VI. The figure is very rudely sketched, but is full of character—the ragged trousers of the artisan contrasting well with the plumed helmet of the military chief. "This monument of victory will I bear," exclaims Cade, after the death of the Staffords (act iv., sc. iii.); and this exclamation is supposed to be explained by the following passage in Hollinshed—"Jack Cade, upon his victory against the Staffords, apparelled himself in Sir Humphrey's brigadine, set full of gilt nails." The brigandine was a jacket formed of overlapping pieces of iron, riveted together by nails, the heads of which, being gilt, ornamented the velvet covering of the jacket in perpendicular rows: but the plumed helmet would be a more distinguishing feature in the military costume of a leader, and more easily put on by the actors, and the appropriation by Cade of any portion of Lord Stafford's armour sufficiently in keeping with the fact recorded by the chronicler. There is another observation I would make, in illustration of the attention paid by the artist to the text of his author. In scene 10, of act iv., "Iden's Garden," Cade says—"I think this word sallet was born to do me good; for many a time, but for a sallet, my brain-

pan had been cleft by a brown bill; and many a time, when I have been dry, and bravely marching, it hath served me instead of a quart pot, to drink in."

In the above speech, Cade is playing on the word sallet, or sallad, which signifies either the well-known dish of herbs, or a peculiar helmet of the fifteenth century, (so called from the Italian, *celata*, or German, *schale*, a shell, bowl, or cover) and differing essentially from the ordinary helmet of Shakespeare's time. In the design before us we perceive the distinction has been carefully made. The figure wears an open head-piece; not the vizored and beavered helmet of the time of James I.; and sufficiently like the *salade* of the reign of Henry VI., to satisfy even the critical antiquary. The baton is in the left hand, having been transferred from the right, which is employed in drawing the sword, as at the moment of saying—"Come, then, let's go fight with them!" (act iv., scene 6.)

PLATE III.

AIRY SPIRIT, SCOGAN, SKELTON, BROTHER OF THE ROSY CROSS.

These are all characters in the Masque of "The Fortunate Isles and their union," designed for the Court on the Twelfth Night, 1626.

1. *An Airy Spirit.* The Masque commences thus: "His Majesty being set, Enter, running, Johphiel, an Airy Spirit, and (according to the Magi) the intelligence of Jupiter's sphere, attired in light silks of several colours, with wings of the same, a bright yellow hair, a chaplet of flowers, blue silk stockings, and pumps and gloves, with a silver fan in his hand." The figure designed by Inigo Jones, if intended for this principal spirit, presents us with some variations from this description. He is attired in a tunic, most probably of "light silk," as the form of the body is pretty clearly defined through it; and over the right shoulder he wears a scarf of

similar material, and probably of a different colour. His *wig* —for by "a hair" a whole head of false hair was signified— no doubt was of the "bright yellow" specified; but it is here unadorned by the chaplet of flowers. His stockings may have been blue; but he seems to be depicted in buskins, instead of pumps; and gloves are not discernible on his hands, in neither of which do we behold a fan. The latter articles may have been added by the poet to the more poetical design of the painter.

2. *Skogan and Skelton.* "Methinks," (says the aforesaid Johphiel to Merefool, "a melancholie Student") "you should inquire now after Skelton, or Master Skogan.—*Mere.* Skogan! What was he?—*Johphiel.* O, a fine gentleman, and master of arts, of Henry the fourth's time, that made disguises for the King's sons, and writ in ballad-royal daintily well.....You shall see him, sir, is worth these both; and with him Domine Skelton, the worshipful poet-laureat to King Harry and *Tityretu* of those times. Advance quick, Skogan—and quicker, Skelton."....And here follows the stage direction—

"Enter Skogan and Skelton, in like habits as they lived."

These two figures are so roughly sketched, that the details are scarcely made out enough to allow us to pronounce an opinion of the knowledge possessed by the artist of the costume of an earlier age, or of the extent to which, if known, he intended to represent it. There is nothing, however, that we can discern in either which is startlingly incorrect. The head-dress of both appears to be the chaperon of the fifteenth century. Skogan appears to be clad in a short but full skirted doublet, or jerkin, such as may be seen throughout that century; and Skelton is enveloped in a long mantle, or gown, equally admissible, and wearing the long, upturned toed shoes, of Oriental form, which, under the name of Crackowes, first made their appearance in Richard the Second's reign, and,

towards the close of the fifteenth century, disputed the palm of fashion with the poulaines, or duck's bills, and the equally absurd broad-toed shoes, which eventually obtained the mastery. Skelton died in 1529, by which time the long toes had completely disappeared; but he was old enough to have remembered the previous fashion, and might have continued to follow it.

3. *A brother of the Rosy Cross.* It is not quite clear, from the Masque, which of the characters this was intended to represent. Merefool himself "hath vowed himself unto that airy order," and exclaims, "What mean the brethren of the Rosy Cross, so to desert their votary?" but he is described by the author as attired "in bare and worn clothes, shrouded under an obscure cloke and the eves of an old hat." He also speaks of "his boots;" but in the drawing he wears shoes; a doublet, with full sleeves, of the dagged, or pounced pattern, of Elizabeth, or James the First's time; (similar to the brown silk one lately recovered from a wreck off Whitstable, and exhibited at a meeting of the British Archæological Association) close fitting breeches, and a very high crowned hat: and, though the "Company of the Rosy Cross" is more than once alluded to, there is no mention of any Rosicrucian's appearance, save and except Merefool, for whom, notwithstanding the absence of the cloak and boots, I am inclined to think the figure was designed.

PLATE IV.

HARLEQUIN FOR THE MOUNTEBANK.

This figure is interesting, as showing the idea entertained of Harlequin, in the age of Shakespeare, before that tricksy sprite became so formidable a rival to the dramatist, that "the mountebank," his master, considered him of more importance than Hamlet or Othello. The Harlequin of Inigo Jones is not the parti-coloured antic of our day, but what we

are accustomed to call a Zany, or Scaramouch—the Clown of our pantomime, before the dress was invented (I believe, by Grimaldi) which has now become identified with that popular personage. I have a dreamy recollection of Laurent, Grimaldi's celebrated competitor at Drury Lane, wearing the white dress, with long sleeves and loose trowsers, here depicted; and occasionally a Clown of this description was introduced, in addition to the more astute and humorous servant of Pantaloon. It must be remembered that our Harlequin has, even from the time of Rich, differed essentially from the Arlequin of France, and the Arlechino of Italy. The latter is a wit—the former a simpleton. The black mask, the triangularly-patched dress of various colours, and the magic bat, have been the attributes of the French Harlequin for the last hundred and fifty years; and those who are acquainted with the old prints of Turlupin, Gros Guillaume, Gandolin, &c., will trace the gradual change of costume and phase of character, from the Vice, with his dagger of lath, in the ancient Morality, to the Harlequin of our present Christmas entertainments; from "the Chartered Libertine" and loquacious Satirist, who belaboured the Devil, to the mute, dancing, glittering nondescript, who thrashes Pantaloon. "The Harlequin for the Mountebank" was probably compounded from those of the French and Italian stages; and to the present time, the Quack Doctor, or Tooth-drawer, at a country fair, may be found with a similar domestic in attendance upon him.

PLATE V.

OLD HABIT OF THE THREE NATIONS, ENGLISH, IRISH, AND SCOTCH.

It is unfortunate that these three figures should be so rudely sketched, as it would have been very interesting to ascertain exactly how the artist intended to represent the ancient dress of the Scotch and Irish nations, particularly.

As far as we can judge, from the rough lines before us, the Englishman's dress is a mere fanciful costume, the most distinct portion of which, the full, or trunk sleeve, is not older than the close of the fifteenth century. But the habits of the Irishman and the Scotchman are evidently designed from some received notion of national costume. Although not chequered by the pen, we may presume the mantle and short dress of the "Scotte" to be intended for the plaid and the fileah-beg. He appears to be bare-legged, but on his head wears, I imagine, a helmet, or conical iron skull cap. There appears to be a quiver of arrows at his back, and perhaps a buckler, or target, is visible over the right shoulder. In a ballad of the time of James I., called "a Song of a fine Skott," or "Jocky will prove a gentleman," the Scotchman is taunted as having worn shoes "made of the hide of some old cow"—"stockynges of the northern hew"—"garters of the listfull gray"—"a jerkin of the northerne gray"—"a girdle of whittlether"—a plain neck-band—and a "blewe bonnett." Although a lowlander may be therein described, it is singular how rarely we meet with an allusion, in any account of the old Scotch dress, to the chequered garb which is now considered its principal characteristic: it is, therefore, probable, the absence of any indication of check, in this drawing, may not be altogether unintentional. The Irishman is much more characteristically attired. He has the rough head of hair, called *glibbe*, in the old proclamations against it; the Irish mantle; "the skirts" of his jacket "very short, with plaits set thick about," as described by Derricke, either naked legs, or the close-fitting *truis*, worn as late as the seventeenth century. In Jonson's "Irish Masque," the gentlemen are directed to dance "in their Irish mantles:" but I have not been able to discover in which Masque these representatives of the three nations were introduced.

J. R. Planché.

THE

MASK OF QUEENS,

AND THE

TWELFTH NIGHT'S REVELS.

BY

BEN JONSON.

FROM THE AUTHOR'S MSS.

PRESERVED IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

To the Glorie of our owne
and greefe of other
Nations:
My Lord
Henry
Prince of Great Britayne. &c.

Sr,

When it hath bene my happinesse (as would it were more frequent) but to see yor face, and, as passing by, to consider you; I haue wth as much joy, as I am now farre from flattery in professing it, call'd to mind that doctrine of some great Inquisitors in *Nature*, who hold euery royall and *Heroique* forme to pertake and draw much to it of the heauenly vertue. For, whether it be yt a diuine soule, being to come into a body, first chooseth a Palace fit for it selfe; or, being come, doth make it so; or that *Nature* be ambitious to haue her worke æquall, I know not: But what is lawfull for me to vnderstand and speake, that I dare; wch is that both yor vertue and yor forme did deserue yor fortune. The one claym'd that you should be borne a prince; the other makes that you do become it. And when *Necessetie* (excellent Lord) the Mother of the *Fates*, hath so prouided that yor forme should not more insinuate you to the eyes of men, then yor vertue to theyr mindes; it comes neare a wonder, to thinke how sweetely that habit flowes in you, and wth so howrely testimonies, wch to all posterity might hold the dignitye of Examples. Amongst the

rest, yo^r^ fauor to letters and these gentler studies, that goe vnder the title of Humanitye, is not the least honor of yo^r^ wreath. For if once the worthy Professors of these learnings shall come (as here to fore they were) to be the care of Princes, the crownes theyr *Soveraignes* weare will not more adorne theyr Temples; nor theyr stamps liue longer in theyr *Medalls*, than in such subjects labors. *Poetry*, my Lord, is not borne w^th^ euery man, nor euery day: And in her generall right, it is now my minute to thanke yo^r^ Highnesse, who not only do honor her w^th^ yo^r^ eare, but are curious to examine her w^th^ yo^r^ eye, and inquire into her beauties, and strengths. Where, though it hath prou'd a worke of some difficulty to mee to retriue the particular *authorities* (according to yo^r^ gracious command, and a desire borne out of iudgment) to those things w^ch^ I writt out of fullnesse, and memory of my former readings; yet, now I haue overcome it, the reward that meetes mee is double to one act; w^ch^ is, that therby yo^r^ excellent vnderstanding will not only iustifie mee to your owne knowledge, but decline the stiffnesse of others originall Ignorance, allready armd to censure. For w^ch^ singular bounty, if my *Fate* (most excellent Prince, and *only Delicacy of mankind*) shall reserue mee to the Age of your Actions, whether in the Campe, or the Councell Chamber, y^t^ I may write, at nights, the deedes of yo^r^ dayes; I will then labor to bring forth some worke as worthy of yo^r^ fame, as my ambition therin is of yo^r^ pardon.

By the most trew admirer of yo^r^ Hignesse Vertues,

And most hearty Celebrater of them.

Ben: Jonson.

THE MASQUE OF QUEENES.

It encreasing, now, to the third time of my being vs'd in these seruices to her Ma^ties personall presentatio's, w^th the Ladyes whome she pleaseth to honor; it was my first, and speciall reguard, to see that the Nobilyty of the Invention should be answerable to the dignity of theyr persons. For w^ch reason, I chose the argument, to be, *A Celebration of honorable & true Fame, bred out of Vertue:* obseruing that rule of the [a] best *Artist*, to suffer no obiect of delight to passe w^thout his mixture of profit, and example.

[a] *Hor. in Art. Poetic.*

And because her Ma^tie (best knowing, that a principall part of life in these *spectacles* lay in theyr variety) had commaunded mee to think on some *Daunce*, or shew, that might præcede hers, and haue the place of a foyle, or false-*Masque*; I was carefull to decline not only from others, but mine owne stepps in that kind, since the [b] last yeare I had an *Anti-Masque* of Boyes: and therefore, now, deuis'd that twelue women, in the habite of *Haggs*, or *Witches*, sustayning the persons of *Ignorance*, *Suspicion*, *Credulity*, &c., the opposites to good *Fame*, should fill that part, not as a *Masque*, but a spectacle of strangeness, producing multiplicity of Gesture, and not vnaptly sorting w^th the current, and whole fall of the Deuise.

[b] In the *Masque* at my *L. Hading.* wedding.

First, then, his Ma^tie being set, and the whole Company in full expectation, that w^ch presented it selfe was an ougly *Hell*; w^ch, flaming beneath, smoak'd vnto the top of the Roofe. And,

in respect all *Evills* are (*morally*) sayd to come from *Hell;* as also from that obseruation of *Torrentius* upon *Horace* his *Canidia,*[c] *quae tot instructa venenis, ex Orci faucibus profecta videri possit.* These Witches, with a kind of hollow and infernall musique, came forth from thence. First one, then two, and three, and more, till theyr number encreased to eleuen; all differently attired; some w^th^ ratts on theyr heads; some on their shoulders; others w^th^ oyntment-potts at theyr girdles; all w^th^ spindells, timbrells, rattles, or other *veneficall* instruments, making a confused noyse, w^th^ strange gestures. The deuise of their attire was *Mr. Jones his,* w^th^ the Invention and *Architecture* of the whole *Scene* and Machine, only I præscribed them theyr *properties,* of vipers, snakes, bones, herbes, rootes, and other ensignes of theyr *Magick,* out of the authority of antient, and late *writers.* Wherin the faults are mine, if there be any found; and for that cause I confesse them.

[c] *Vid. Læuin. Torr., comment. in Hor. Epod. lib. ode. v.*

These eleuen Witches beginning to daunce (w^ch^ is an usual *ceremony*[d] at theyr *Convents,* or meetings, where sometimes, also, they are vizarded and masqu'd) on the sodayne one of them miss'd their *Cheife,* and interrupted the rest w^th^ this Speach.

[d] See the *King's Maties booke* (o^r^ *Soveraigne*) of *Dæmonologie. Bodin. Remig. Delrio. Mall. Malefi.*, and a world of others, in the generall: but let us follow particulars.

Sisters, stay; we want o^r^ [e] *Dame;*
Call upon her, by her name,

[e] Amongst o^r^ vulgar witches the honor of *Dame* (for so I translate it) is giuen, with a kind of pre-eminence, to some speciall one at theyr meetings, which *Delrio* insinuates, *Disquis. mag. lib. ij. Qu. ix.*, quoting that of *Apuleius. lib. j. de Asin. aureo. de quadam caupona Regina sagarū:* and addes, *vt scias etiam tum quasdam ab ijs hoc titulo honoratas;* w^ch^ Title *M. Phillippo Ludwigus Elich, Dæmonomagiæ Quest. x.*, doth also remember.

And the charme we vse to say,
That she quickly [f] anoynt, and come away.

[f] When they are to be trasported from place to place, they vse to anoynt themselues, and sometimes the things they ride on. Beside *Apule.* testimony, see these later, *Remig. Dæmonolatriæ,*

lib. j. cap. xiiii. Delrio. Disquis., Mag. lib. ij. Quæst. xvj. Bodin. Dæmonoman. lib. ij. cap. iiij. Barthol. de Spina quæst. de strigib. Phillippo Ludwigus Elich. Quaest. x. Paracelsus in magn. et occul. Philosophiâ teacheth the confection. *Unguentū ex carne recens natorū infantium, in pulmenti formâ coctum, et cum herbis somniferis, quales sunt papauer, solanū, cicuta, &c.* and *Joa. Bapti. Porta, lib. ij. Mag. natur. cap. xxvij.*

I. CHARME.

Dame, Dame, the watch is set:
Quickly come, we all are met.
From the lakes, and from the fennes,[g]
From the rockes, and from the dennes,
From the woods, and from the caues,
From the Church-yards, from the graues,
From the dungeon, from the tree,
That they die on, here are wee.

[g] These places, in their owne nature dire and dismall, are reckond vp as the fittest, from whence such persons should come; and were notably obserued by that excellent *Lucan* in the description of his *Erictho. lib. vj.* To which we may adde this *corollarye*, out of *Agrippa de Occult. philosop. lib j. cap. xlviij. Saturno correspondent loca quævis fœtida, tenebrosa, subterranea, religiosa et funesta, vt cœmiteria, busta, et hominibus deserta habitacula, et vetustate caduca, loca obscura, et horrenda, et solitaria antra, cauernæ, putei, præterea piscinæ, stagna, paludes et eiusmodi.* And in *lib. iij. cap. xlij.*, speaking of the like, and in *lib. iiij.* about the end. *Aptissima sunt loca plurimum experientia visionū, nocturnarūq incursionum et consimilium phantasmatū, vt cœmiteria, et in quibus fieri solent executio et criminalis iudicij, in quibus recentibus annis publicæ strages factæ sunt, vel ubi occisorū cadauera nec dum expiata, nec rite sepulta recentioribus annis subhumata sunt.*

Comes she not yet?
Strike another heate.

2. CHARME.

The weather is fayre, the wind is good,
Vp, *Dame* o' yo^{r} [h] horse of wood,

[h] *Delrio. Disq. Magic. lib. 2 Quæst vj.* has a story out of *Triezius* of this horse of wood: But y^{t} w^{ch} o^{r} witches call so is sometime a broome staffe, sometime a reede, sometime a distaffe. See *Remig. Dæmonol. lib. j. cap. xiiij. Bodin. lib. ij. cap. iiij. &c.*

Or else, tuck up yo^{r} gray frock,
And sadle yo^{r} [i] Goate, or yo^{r} greene [j] Cock,

[i] The goate is

And make his bridle a bottome of thrid,
To roule up how many miles you have rid.
Quickly come away:
For we all stay.

[e] Deuil himselfe, vpon whome they ride, often, to their solemnities, as appears by th[r] confessions in *Rem.* and *Bodin, ibid.* His *Mat[ie]* also remembers the story of the Diuell's appearance to those of *Calicut*, in that forme. *Daemonol. lib. ij. cap. iij.*

Nor yet? Nay, then,
Wee'll try her agen.

3. CHARME.

The Owle is abroad, the Bat, and the Toade,
And so is the Cat-à-Mountaine;
The Ant and the Mole sit both in a hole,
And Frog peepes out o' the fountayne;
The Dogges they do bay, and the Timbrells play,
The Spindle [k] is now à turning;
The Moone is red, and the starres are fled,
But all the Sky is à burning;

[j] Of the greene Cock we have no other ground (to confesse ingenuously) than a vulgar fable of a witch that w[th] a cock of that colour, and a bottome of blewe thred, would transport herselfe through the ayre; and so escap'd (at the time of her being brought to execution) from the hand of Justice. It was a tale when I went to schoole. And somewhat there is like it in *Mar. Delrio. Disqui. Mag. lib. ij. quest vj.* of one Zyto, a *Bohemian*, that, among other his dexterities, *aliquoties equis rhedarijs vectum, gallis gallinaceis ad epirrhedium suum alligatis susequebatur.*

[k] All this is but a *Periphrasis* of the night, in theyr charme, and theyr applying themselves to it with theyr instruments, wherof y[e] spindle, in antiquitye, was y[e] cheife: and (beside the testemony of *Theocritus* in *Pharmaceutria*, who only vsd it in amorous affayres) was of speciall act to the troubling of the *moone*. To w[ch] *Martial* alludes, *lib. ix. Epi. xxx. Quæ nunc Thessalico Luna deducere rhombo, etc.* And *lib. xij. Epig. lvij. Cum secta Colcho, Luna vapulat rhombo.*

The ditch [l] is made, and o[r] nayles the spade,
With pictures full of waxe and of wooll;
Theyre livers I stick w[th] needles quick:
There lackes but the blood to make vp the flood.

[l] This *rite* also of making a ditch with theyr nayles is frequent with our witches; whereof see *Bodin. Remigius, Delrio, Malleus Malefic. Godelman, lib. ij. de Lamijs*, as also the antiquity of it most viuely exprest by *Hora. Satir. viij. lib. j.*, where he mentions the pictures and the blood of a blacke lambe, all w[ch] are yet in vse w[th] o[r] moderne

witchcraft. *Scalpere Terram* (speaking of *Canidia* and *Sagana*) *unguibus, et pullam divellere mordicus agnam Cæperunt: cruor in fossam confusus, ut inde Manes elicerent animas responsa daturas. Lanea et effigies erat, altera cerea, etc.*, and then by and by, *Serpenteis atque videres Infernas errare canes, Lunamq. rubentem, Ne foret his testis, post magna latere sepulchra.* Of this ditch *Homer* makes mention in *Circes* speach to *Vlysses: Odyss K.* about the end Βόθρον ὀρύξαι, *etc.* and *Ovid Metam. lib. vij* in *Medeas* Magick. *Haud procul egestâ scrobibus tellure duabus Sacra facit, cultrosque in gutture velleris atri Conjicit, et patulas perfundit sanguine fossas.* And of the waxen images in *Hypsipyles* epistle to *Jason*, where he expresseth that mischiefe also of the needles. *Deuouet absentes simulacraq. cerea fingit, Et miserum tenues in iecur urget acus. Bodin. Dæmon: lib. ij. cap. viij.* hath (beside the knowne story of *K. Duffe* out of *Hector Boetius*) much of the witches later practise in y^t^ kind, and reports a relation of a *French ambassadours* out of England, of certayne pictures of waxe found in a dunghill, neare Islington, of our late Queenes; w^ch^ rumor I myselfe (being then very young) can yet remember to have bene current.

Quickly, *Dame*, then bring y^r^ part in,
Spur, spur, upon little Martin;[m]
Merely, merely, make him sayle,
A worme in his mouth, and a thorne in's tayle;
Fire above and fire below,
With a whip i' your hand to make him goe.
O, now she's come!
Let all be dumbe.

[m] Theyr little *Martin* is hee that calls them to theyre Conventicles; w^ch^ is done in a humane voyce; but coming forth they find him in the shape of a great Bucke-Goate, upon whome they ride to theyr meetings. *Delrio. Disquis. Mag. quest. xvj. lib. ij.* and *Bod. Dæmonom. lib. ij. cap. iiij.* have both the same relation, from *Paulus Grillandus*, of a witch. *Adveniente nocte et horâ euocabatur voce quadam velut humanâ ab ipso Dæmone, quem non vocant Dæmonem, sed Magisterulum, aliæ Magistrum Martinettū, sive Martinellum. Quæ sic euocata mox sumebat pyxidem unctionis, et liniebat corpus suum in quibusdam partibus, et membris: quo linito exebat ex domo et inveniebat Magisterulū suum in formâ hirci, illum expectantem apud ostium, super quo mulier equitabat, et applicare solebat fortiter manus ad crineis, et statim hircus ille adscendebat per aerem, et brevissimo tempore deferebat ipsam, etc.*

At this the Dame[n] entered to them, naked armed, bareboted, her frock tucked, her hayre knotted, and folded with vipers; in her hand a torch made of a dead man's arme, lighted, girded with a snake. To whome they all did reverence, and she spake, vttring by way of question, the end wherefore they came: w^ch^, if it had bene done eyther before, or otherwise, had not bene so naturall. For, to have made them-

[n] This Dame I make to beare the person of *Ate*, or *mischeife*, for so I interpret it out of *Homer's* description of

selves theyr owne decipherers, and each one to have told upon their entrance *what they were, and whether they would,* had bene a most piteous hearing, and vtterly vnworthy any quality of a *Poeme:* wherein a *Writer* should alwayes trast somewhat to the capacity of the *Spectator,* especially at these *spectacles,* where men, beside inquiring eyes, are understood to bring quick eares, and not those sluggish ones of Porters and Mechanicks, that must be bor'd through at every act w^th^ narrations.

her, *Iliad,* I. where he makes her swift to hunt mankind, strong and sound of her feete; and *Iliad* T. walking upon men's heads; in both places using one and the same phrase to signifie her power; Βλαπτας' ανθρώπους, *Lædens homines.* I present her barefooted and her frock tuck'd, to make her seeme more expedite; by *Horace* his authority. Sat. viij. lib. j. *Succinctam vadere pallâ Canidiam pedibus nudis, passoq. capillo.* But for her hayre, I rather respect another place of his, *Epod. lib. ode. v.*, where she appears *Canidia brevibus implicata viperis crineis Et incomptũ caput.* And that of *Lucan* lib. vj. speaking of *Erictho's* attire, *Discolor et vario Furialis cultus amictu Induitur, vultusque aperitur crine remoto, Et coma vipereis substringitur horrida sertis.* For her torch, see *Remig., lib. ij. cap. iij.*

DAME. HAGGES.

Well done, my *Hagges.* And come we fraught w^th^ spight,
To overthrow the glory of this night?
Holds our great purpose? *Hag.* Yes. *Dam.* But wants there none
Of our iust number? *Hag.* Call us one by one,
And then o^r^ Dame shall see. *Dam.*° First, then, advance
My drowsy servant, stupide *Ignorance,*
Knowne by thy scaly vesture; and bring on
Thy fearfull Sister, wild *Suspicion,*
Whose eyes do neuer sleepe; Let her knit hands
W^th^ quick *Credulity,* that next her stands,
Who hath but one eare, and that allwayes ope;
Two-faced *Falshood* follow in the rope;
And lead on *Murmure,* w^th^ the cheekes deepe hung;
She *Malice,* whetting of her forked tongue;
And *Malice Impudence,* whose forhead's lost;
Let *Impudence* lead *Slaunder* on, to boast

° In the chayning of these *vices* I make, as if one linke produced another, and the *Dame* were borne out of them all; so as they might say to her, *Sola tenes scelerum quicquid*

Her oblique looke; and to her subtill side
Thou, black-mouthed *Execration*, stand apli'de;
Draw to thee *Bitternesse*, whose pores sweat gall;
She flame-ey'd *Rage*; *Rage Mischeife*. *Hag*. Here we are all.

possedimus omnes. Nor will it appeare much violenc'd if theyr *series* be considered, when the opposition to all *vertue* begins out of *Ignorance;* that *Ignorance* begets *Suspicion* (for knowledge is euer open and charitable); that *Suspicion Credulity*, as it is a vice; for beeing a virtue and free, it is opposite to it: but such as are iealous of them selues do easely credit anything of others whome they hate. Out of this *Credulity* springs *Falsehood*, which begets *Murmure;* and that *Murmure* presently growes *Malice*, w^ch^ begetts *Impudence;* that *Impudence Slander;* that *Slander Execration; Execration Bitterness*; *Bitternesse Fury*; and *Fury Mischiefe*. Now for the personal presentation of them, the authority in *Poetry* is vniuersall. But in the absolute *Claudian* there is a particular and eminent place, where y^e^ *Poet* not only produceth such persons, but almost to a like purpose: in *Ruf. lib. j.*, where *Alecto*, envious of the times, *infernas ad limina tetra sorores, Concilium deforme vocat, glomerantur in unum Innumeræ pestes Erebi quascunque sinistro Nox genuit fœtu: nutrix discordia belli, Imperiosa Fames, leto vicina Senectus, Impatiensque sui Morbus, Livorque secundis, anxius et scisso mœrens velamine Luctus, et timor, et cæco præceps Audacia vultu;* w^th^ many others, fit to disturbe the world, as ours the night.

Dam.[p] Joyne now our hearts, we faythfull Opposites
To *Fame* and *Glory*. Let not these bright nights
Of Honor blaze thus, to offend o^r^ eyes.
Shew o^r^ selues truly envious; and let rise
Our wonted rages. Do what may beseeme
Such names and natures. *Vertue* else will deeme
Our powers decreast, and think vs banish'd earth,
No lesse then heauen. All her antique birth,
As *Justice*, *Fayth*, she will restore: and bold
Vpon o^r^ sloth, retriue her *Age of Gold*.
We must not let o^r^ natiue manners thus
Corrupt w^th^ ease. Ill liues not, but in us.
I hate to see these fruicts of a soft peace,
And curse the piety giues it such increase.

[p] Here a-gayne, by way of irritation, I make the Dame pursue the purpose of theyr coming, and discouer theyr natures more largely, w^ch^ had bene nothing if not done, as doing another thing: But *Moratio circa vilem patulūq orbem*. Then w^ch^ the *Poet* cannot know a greater vice, he being y^t^ kind of artificer, to whose worke is required so much exactness, as indifferency is not tolerable.

Let us disturbe it then;[q] and blast the light;
Mixe Hell w^th^ Heauen; and make *Nature* fight

[q] These powers of trou-

bling *Nature* are frequently ascribed to Witches, and

W^th^in her selfe; loose the whole henge of Things,
And cause the Endes runne back into theyr Springs.

challeng'd by them selues, where ever they are induc'd, by *Homer, Ovid, Tibullus, Pet. Arbiter, Seneca, Lucan, Claudian,* to whose authorities I shall referre more anone. For y^e^ present, heare *Socrat. in Apul. de Asin. aureo lib. j.* describing *Meroe* the Witch. *Saga, et diuinopotens cœlum deponere, terram suspendere, fontes durare, monteis diluere, Manes sublimare, Deos infimare, sydera extinguere, Tarturū ipsum illuminare.* And *lib. ij.* Byrrhena to Lucius of Pamphile. *Maga primi nominis, et omnis carminis sepulcralis Magistra creditur, quæ surculis et lapillis, et id genus friuolis inhalatis omnem istam lucem mundi syderalis, imis Tartari, et in vetustum Chaös mergit.* As also this later of *Remigius,* in his most elegant Arguments, before his *Dæmonolatria: qua possint evertere funditus orbem, Et Muneis superis miscere hæc unica cura est.* And *Lucan. Quarū, quicquid non creditur, ars est.*

[r] This is also solemne in their witchcraft to be examind eyther by the *Deuill*

Hag. What o^r^ *Dame* bids us doe,
Wee are ready for. *Dam.* Then, fall too.
But[r] first relate mee what you haue sought,
Where you haue bene, and what you haue brought.

or theyr *Dame,* at theyr meetings, of what mischiefe they have done; and what they can confer to a future hurt. See *M. Phillippo-Ludwigus Elich. Dæmonomagiæ lib. quest. x.* But *Remigius.* in the very forme *lib. j. Dæmonolat. cap. xxij. Quemadmodum solent Heri, in villicis procuratoribus, cum eorū rationes expendunt, segnitiem negligentiamque durius castigare. Ita Dæmon in suis comitiis, quod tempus examinandus cujusque rebus atque actionibus ipse constituit, eos pessime habere consueuit, qui nihil afferunt, quo se nequiores ac flagitijs cumulatiores doceant. Nec cuiquam adeo impune est, si à superiore conventu nullo se scelere novo obstrinxerint; sed semper oportet, qui gratus esse volet, in alium nouum aliquod facinus fecisse.* And this doth exceedingly sollicitte them all, at suche times, least they should come unprepard. But we apply this examination of o^rs^ to the particular vse; whereby, also, we take occasion not alone to expresse the things, (as vapors, liquors, herbes, bones, flessh, blood, fat, and such like, w^ch^ are called *media magica*) but the rites of gathering them, and from what places, reconciling (as neare as we can) the practice of *Antiquity* to the neoterick, and making it familiar w^th^ o^r^ popular witchcraft.

HAGGES.

1.

[1] For the gathering peices of dead flesh, *Cor. Agripp. de occul. Philosop. lib. iij. cap. xlij.* and *lib. iiij. cap. ult.* obserues that the vse was to call up *ghosts* and *spirits* w^th^ a fumigation made of that

I have bene, all day, looking after
A rauen, feeding vpon a quarter;
And soone as she turn'd her beake to y^e^ south,
I snatch'd this morsell out of her mouth.

(and bones of carcasses) w^ch^ I make my Witch, here, not to cut her selfe, but to watch the rauen, as *Lucan's Erictho lib. vj. Et quodcumque iacet nudâ tellure cadaver, Ante feras volucresq. sedet: nec carpere membra Vult ferro, manibusque suis, morsusq. luporum Expectat siccis raptura à faucibus artus;* as if that peice were sweeter w^ch^ the wolfe had bitten, or the rauen had picked, and more effectuous. And to do it at her turning to the *south*, as w^th^ the prædiction of a storme, w^ch^ though they bee but minutes in *ceremonie*, being observ'd make the act more darke, and full of horror.

2.

I haue bene gathering wolues' hayres,
The mad doggs foame and the adders' eares,
The spurging of a dead mans eyes,
And all since the Evening Starre did rise.

[2] *Spuma canũ Lupi crines, nodus Hyenæ, oculi draconũ, Serpentis membrana, Aspidis aures* are all mentioned by the *Antients* in witchcraft. And *Lucan* particularly, *lib. 6, Huc quicquid fœtu genuit Natura sinistro Miscetur, non spuma canum quibus vnda timori est, Viscera non lyncis, non duræ nodus hyenae Defuit, &c.*, and *Ovid Metamorphos, lib. vij.* reckons vp others. But for the spurging of the eyes, let us returne to *Lucan*, in the same booke, w^ch^ peice (as all the rest) is written with an admirable height. *Ast vbi seruantur saxis quibus intimus humor Ducitur, et tractâ durescunt tabe medullæ Corporu, tunc omneis avide desævit in artus, Immersitque manus oculis, gaudetque gelatos Effodisse orbeis, et siccæ pallida rodit Excrementa manus.*

3.

I, last night, lay all alone
O'the ground, to heare the *Mandrake* grone:
And pluck'd him vp, though he grew full low,
And as I had done, the Cock did crow.

[3] *Plinie*, writing of the *Mandrake*, *Nat. Hist. lib. xxv. cap. xiij.*, and of the digging it vp, hath this cæremonye. *Cavent effossuri contrarium ventũ, et tribus circulis ante gladio circumscribunt, postea fodiunt ad occasum spectantes.* But wee haue later tradition, that the forcing of it vp is so fatallie dangerous, as the grone kills, and therefore they do it with doggs; w^ch^ I think but borrowed from Josephus in his report of the roote Bæaras, *lib. vij. de Bell Judaic:* How-soever, it being so principall an ingredient in theyr magick, it was fit she should boast to be the plucker of it vp her-selfe. And *that the cock did crow* alludes to a prime circumstance in theyr worke: For they all confesse, that nothing is so crosse or balefull to them, in theyr nights, as that the cock should crow before they haue done. W^ch^ makes, that theyr little *Masters*, or *Martinetts*, of whome I haue mentioned before, vse this forme in dismissing their conventions: *Eia, facessite properè hinc omnes, nam iam Galli canere incipiunt:* w^ch^ I interpret to be, because that bird is the messenger of light, and so contrary to theyr acts of darknesse. See *Remigius Dæmonolo. lib. j. cap. xiiij.*, where he quotes that of *Apollonius, de vmbrâ Achillis. Philostr. lib. iiij. cap. v.* And *Euseb. Cæsariens. in confutat. contra Hierocl. iiij. de Gallicinio.*

4.

And I ha' bene choosing out this scull
From charnell-houses that were full;
From private grotts, and publique pitts,
And frighted a Sexten out of his witts.

[4] I have touched at this before (in my note upon the first) of the vse of gathering flesh, bones, and sculls, to w^ch I now bring y^t peice of *Apuleius lib. iij. de Asino aureo* of *Pamphile. Priusq. apparatu solito instruxit feralem officinam, omne genus aromatis, et ignorabiliter laminis literatis, et infelicium naviũ durantibus clavis defletorum, sepultorum etiam, cadaverum expositis multis admodũ membris, hic nares et digiti, illic carnosi claui pendentium, alibi trucidatorũ servatus cruor, et extorta dentibus ferarum trunca caluaria.* And for such places, *Lucan* makes his witch to inhabit them *lib.* 6. *desertaque busta Incolit, et tumulos expulsis obtinet umbris.*

5.

Under a cradle I did creepe,
By day; and when the child was à-sleepe,
At night, I suck'd the breath; and rose,
And pluck'd the nodding nurse by the nose.

[5] For this rite see *Barthol. de Spind quæst. de Strigibus cap. viij. Mall. Malefica. Tom.* 2. where he disputes at large the transformation of witches to catts, and theyr sucking both the spirits and the blood, calling them *Striges*, w^ch *Godelman, lib. de Lamijs*, would have *à stridore, et auibus fœdissimis ejusdem nominis;* w^ch I the rather incline to out of *Ovid's* authority, *Fast. lib. vj.* where the *Poet* ascribes to those birds the same almost that these doe to the witches. *Nocte volant, puerosque petunt nutricis egenteis, Et vitiant cunis corpora rapta suis: Carpere dicuntur lactantia viscera rostris, Et plenũ poto sanguine guttur habent.*

6.

I had a dagger; what did I with that?
Kill'd an infant, to haue his fat.
A piper it got, at a Church-ale,
I bad him agayne blow wind i' the tayle.

[6] Theyr killing of infants is common, both for confection of theyr oyntment (whereto one ingredient is the fat boyld, as I have shew'd before out of *Paracelsus* and *Porta*) as also out of a lust to doe murder. *Sprenger in Mall. Malific.* reports that a Witch, a midwife in the *Diocæse of Basil*, confess'd to have kill'd aboue forty infants, euer as they were new borne, w^th pricking them into the brayne with a needle, w^ch she had offered to the *Deuill.* See the story of the three Witches in *Rem. Dœmonola. lib. ij. cap. iij.* about the end of the chapter, and *M. Philipp. Ludwigus Elich. quæstio, viij.* And that it is no new rite, read the practice of *Canidia, Epod. Horat. lib. ode v.* and *Lucan lib. vj.*, whose admirable verses I can neuer be weary to transcribe. *Nec ces-*

sunt à cæde manus, si sanguine vivo Est opus, erumpat jugulo qui primus aperto. Nec refugit cædes vivum si sacra cruorem Extaq funereæ poscunt trepidantia mensæ. Vulnere si ventris, non qua Natura vocabat Extrahitur partus calidis ponendus in aris; Et quoties sævis opus est, et fortibus umbris Ipsa facit maneis. Hominum mors omnis in usu est.

7.

A murderer, yonder, was hung in chaines,
The sunne and the wind had shrunk his vaynes:
I bit of a sinew, I clipt his hayre,
I brought of his ragges, y^t^ daunc'd i' the ayre.

[7] The abuse of dead bodyes in theyr witchcraft, both *Porphyrie* and *Psellus* are grave authors of. The one, *lib. de Sacrif. cap. de vero cultu.* The other, *lib. de Dæmo.* w^ch^ *Apuleius* toucheth too, *lib. ij. de. Asin. aureo.* But *Remigius*, who deales with later persons, and out of theyr owne mouthes, *Dæmonola lib. ij. cap. iij.* affirmes: *Hoc et nostræ ætatis maleficis honimibus moris est facere, præsertim si cuius supplicio affecti cadaver exemplo datum est, et in crucem sublatum. Nam non solum inde sortilegijs suis materiam mutuantur, sed et ab ipsis carnificinæ instrumentis, reste, vinculis, palo, ferramentis. Siquidem ijs vulgi etiam opinione inesse ad incantationes magicas vim quandam, ac potestatem.* And to this place I dare not, out of religion to the divine *Lucan*, but bring his verses from the same booke, *Laqueum, nodosque nocenteis Ore suo rupit, pendentia corpora carpsit, Abrasitque cruces, percussaque viscera nimbis Vulsit, et incoctas admisso sole medullas. Insertum manibus chalybem, nigramque per artus Stillantis tabi suniem, virusq. coactum Sustulit, et nervo morsus retinente pependit.*

8.

The scrich-owle's egges, and the fethers black,
The blood of the frog, and the bone in his back,
I have bene getting, and made of his skin
A purset, to keepe S^r^ *Cranion* in.

[8] These are *Canidias* furniture in *Hor. Epod. lib. ode v. Et uncta turpis ova ranæ sanguine, Plumamque nocturnæ strigis.* And part of Medeas confection in *Ovid Metamorp. lib. vij. Strigis infames, ipsis cũ carnibus, alas.* That of the skin (to make a purse for her Fly) was meant ridiculous, to mocke the keeping of theyr *Familiars.*

9.

And I ha' bene plucking, plants among,
Hemlock, henbane, adders'-tongue,
Night-shade, moone wort, libbard's-bane;
And, twise, by the doggs was like to be tane.

[9] *Cicuta, Hyoscyamus, Ophioglosson, Solanum, Martagon, Doronicũ, Aconitum* are the common *veneficall* ingredients remembred by *Paracelsus, Porta, Agrippa*, and others; w^ch^ I

make her to have gather'd, as about a Castle, Church, or some such vast building (kept by doggs) among ruines, and wild heapes.

[10] *Ossa ab ore rapta ieiunæ canis. Horace* giues *Canidia* in the place before quoted, w^ch *ieiunæ* I rather change to gard'ners, as imagining such persons to keepe mastifes for the defence of theyr grounds, whether this Hag might goe also for *Simples*, where meeting with the bones, and not content with them, shee would yet doe a domestick hurt, in getting the cats brayne; w^ch is another speciall *Ingredient*, and of so much more efficacy, by how much blacker the cat is: if you will credit *Agrip. cap. de suffitibus.*

10.

I from the iawes of a Gard'ner's bitch
Did snatch these bones, and then leap'd y^e ditch:
Yet went I back to the house agayne,
Kill'd the black cat; and here's y^e brayne.

[11] These also, both by the confessions of witches, and testemony of writers, are of principal vse in theyr witchcraft. The toade, mentiond in *Virg. Georg. j. Inventusq. cauis Bufo,* w^ch by *Plinie* is called *Rubeta. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxij. cap. v.*, and there celebrated for the force in *Magick. Juvenal* toucheth at it twise (within my memory) *Sat. j.* and the *vj.* And of the owles eyes, see *Cor. Agrip. de occult. Philos,* lib. j., cap. xv. As of the batts bloud and wings there; and in the *xxv. cap.* w^th *Bap. Porta. lib. ij. cap. xxvj.*

11.

I went to the toad breedes under the wal,
I charm'd him out, and he came at my call;
I scratched out y^e eyes o' the owle, before;
I tore the batt's wing: What would you have more?

[12] After all theyr boasted labors, and plenty of materialls (as they imagine) I make the *Dame* not only to adde more, but stranger, and out of theyr meanes to get (except the first *Papauer cornutũ*, w^ch I have touch'd at in the confection) as *Sepulcris caprificos erutas, et cupressos funebreis,* as *Horace* calls them where he armes *Canidia. Epod. lib. Ode. v.:* then *Agaricum Laricis,* of w^ch see *Porta. lib. ij. de Nat. Magi.* agaynst *Plinie,* and *Basilisci, quem et Saturni sanguinem vocant venefici, tantasque vires habere ferunt. Cor. Agrip. de occult Philos, lib. j. cap. xlij.* w^th

12.

DAME.

Yes, I have brought (to helpe our vowes)
Horned poppie, cypresse boughes,
The figg-tree wild, that grows on tombes,
And juice, that from the larch-tree comes,
The basiliskes blood, and the viper's skin.
And, now, o^r orgies lett's beginne.

the viper remembred by *Lucan, lib.* 6, and the skinnes of serpents. *Innataque rubris Æquoribus custos pretiosæ vipera conchæ, Aut viuentis adhuc Lybicæ membrana cerastæ.* And *Ovid, lib. vij. Nec defuit illis Squamia ciniphei tenuis membrana chelidri.*

Here the *Dame* put her selfe into the midst of them, and beganne her following invocation; wherein she tooke occasion to boast all the power attributed to witches by the *Antients:* of which euery *Poet* (or the most) doth giue some. *Homer* to *Circe*, in the Odyss. *Theocritus* to *Simatha*, in *Pharmaceutria.* Virgil to *Alphesibœus*, in his. *Ovid* to *Dipsas* in *Amor.;* to *Medea* and *Circe*, in *Metamorp.* Tibullus to *Saga. Horace* to *Canidia, Sagana, Veia, Folia. Seneca* to *Medea*, and the Nurse in *Herc. Oete. Petr. Arbiter* to his *Saga* in *Fragment.* And Claud. to his *Megæra lib. j. in Rufinum:* who takes the habite of a witch as these doe, and supplies that *historicall* part in the *Poeme*, beside her *morall* person of a *Fury*, confirming the same drift in ours.

You [a] Fiendes, and Furies, (if yet any bee
Worse then o[r] selues) you that haue quak'd to see

[a] These invocations are solemne w[th] them; whereof we may see the formes in *Ovid. Meta. lib. vij.* in *Sen. Trag. Med.* in *Luc. lib. vj.*, which of all is the boldest and most horrid, beginning *Eumenides, Stygiumq. nefas, pœnæque nocentũ, &c.*

These knotts[b] untied; and shrunke when we have charm'd.
You that (to arme vs) have yo[r] selues disarm'd,
And, to our powers resign'd yo[r] whipps and brands,
When we went forth, the Scourge of men and lands.
You that have seene me ride, when Hecate
Durst not take chariot; when the boystrous sea
Without a breath of wind hath knockd the skie;
And that hath thundred, *Jove* not knowing why:
When we have set the Elements at warres,
Made mid-night see the sunne, and day the starres;
When the wing'd lightning, in the course, hath stay'd;
And swiftest rivers have runne back, afrayd

[b] The untying of theyr knotts is when they are going to some fatall businesse, as *Sagana* is præsented by *Horace. Expedita per totam domum spargens Avernaleis aquas, Horret capillis, ut*

marinus asperis Echinus, aut currens Aper.

To see the corne remoue, the groues to range,
Whole places alter, and the Seasons change.
When the pale *Moone*, at the first voyce, downe fell
Poyson'd, and durst not stay the second *Spell.*
You that haue oft bene conscious of these sights;
And thou,[c] *three-formed Starre*, that on these nights
Art only power-full, to whose triple name
Thus wee incline; once, twise, and thrise-the-same:
If now w^th^ *rites* profane and foull inough,
Wee doe invoke thee; darken all this roofe
W^th^ present fogges. Exhale earth's rott'nest vapors,
And strike a blindness through these blazing tapers.

[c] *Hecate*, who is call'd *Trivia*, and *Triformis*, of whome *Virgil, Æneid, lib. iiij. Tergeminamque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianæ.* She was beleev'd to governe in witchcraft, and is remembered in all theyr invocations. See *Theoc.* in *Pharmaceut.* Χαιρ' Εκατα δασπλητι, and *Medea in Senec. Meis vocata sacris noctium sidus veni, Pessimos induta vultus: Fronte non unâ minax.* And *Ericht. in Lu. Persephone, nostræque Hecatis pars vltima,* &c.

Come, let a murmuring Charme resound,
The whilst we [d] bury all i'the ground;

[d] This rite of burying theyr *materialls* is often confest in *Remigius*, and describ'd amply in *Horace*, sat. 8, *lib. j. Vtque lupi bardam variæ cum dente colubræ Abdiderint furtim terris*, &c.

But first see euery [e] foote be bare,
And every knee. *Hag.* Yes, Dame, They are.

[e] The *ceremony* also of baring theyr feete is expressed by *Ovid. Metamorph. lib. vij.* as of theyr hayre. *Egreditur tectis vestes induta recinctas, Nuda pedem nudos humeris infusa capillos.* And *Horac. ibidem. Pedibus nudis, passoq. capillo.* And *Seneca in Tragœd. Mede. Tibi more gentis, vinculo soluens comam, Secreta nudo nemora lustraui pede.*

4. CHARME.

Deepe,[f] ô deepe, we lay thee to sleepe;
Wee leave thee drinke by, if thou chance to be dry,
Both *milke* and *blood*, the dew and y^e^ flood.
We breath in thy bed, at the foote, and y^e^ head;
We cover thee warme, that thou take no harme:
And, when thou dost wake,

[f] Here they speake as if they were creating some new feature, w^ch^ ye *Deuil* persuades them to be able to do often, by the

Dame Earth shall quake,
And the houses shake,
And her belly shall ake,
As her back were brake,
Such a birth to make,
As is the blew Drake
Whose forme thou shalt take.

pronouncing of wordes and pouring out of liquors on the earth. Heare what *Agrippa* says, *de occult. Phi. lib. iiij.* neare the end *In evocationibus umbrarū fumigamus cum sangine recenti, cum ossibus mortuorum et carne, cū ovis, lacte, melle, oleo, et similibus, quæ aptū medium tribuunt animabus, ad sumenda corpora*, and a little before, *Namque animæ cognitis medijs, per quæ quondam corporibus suis conjungebantur per similes vapores, liquores, nidoresque facile alliciuntur*, w^ch^ doctrine he had from Apuleius, without all doubt or question, who in *lib. iij. de Asin, aur.* publisheth the same: *Tunc, decantatis spirantibus fibris litat vario latice, nunc rore fontano, nunc lacte vaccino, nunc melle montano, libat et mulsā. Sic illos capillos in mutuos nexus obditos, atque nodatos, cum multis odoribus dat vivis carbonibus adolendos. Tunc protinus in expugnabili Magicæ disciplinæ potestate, et cæcā numinū coactorū violentiā illa corpora quorū fumabant stridentes capilli spiritum mutuantur humanū et sentiunt, et audiunt et ambulant. Et qua nidor suarū ducebat exuviarū veniunt.* All which are mere arts of Sathan, when eyther himselfe will delude them w^th^ a fallse forme, or troubling a dead body, make them imagine these vanities the meanes, as in the ridiculous circumstances y^t^ follow, he doth dayly.

DAME.

Never a starre yett shott?
Where be the ashes? *Hag.* Here, i' the pot.
Dam.[g] Cast them up; and the flint stone
Over the left shoulder bone
Into the West. *Hag.* It will be best.

[g] This throwing up of ashes and sand, w^th^ the flint stone, crosse sticks, and burying of sage, &c., are all us'd and beleev'd by them to the raysing of storme and tempest. See *Remigi. lib. j. Dæmonol. cap. xxv. Nider. Formi-*

5 CHARME.

The sticks are a crosse, there can be no losse;
The sage is rotten, the sulphur is gotten
Up to the skye, that was i' the ground.
Follow it, then, w^th^ o^r^ rattles round;
Under the bramble, over the brier,
A little more heate will set it on fire:
Put it in mind, to doe it kind,
Flow water and blow wind.

Rouncy is over, *Robble* is under,
A flash of light, and a clapp of thunder,
A storme of rayne, another of hayle,
Wee all must home i' the egg-shell sayle;
The mast is made of a great pin,
The tackle of cobweb, the sayle as thin,
And if we goe through, and not fall in—

cari, cap. iiij. Bodin. Dæmon. lib. ij. cap viij. And heare *Godelman, lib. ij. cap vj. Nam quando Dæmoni grandines ciendi potestatem facit Deus, tum Maleficas instruit, ut quandoque silices post tergum in occidentem versus projiciant, aliquando ut arenam aquæ torrentis in aerem conjiciant, plerumq. scopas in aquam intingant, cælumq. versus spargunt, vel fossula factâ et lotio infuso, vel aquâ digitū moveant: subinde in ollâ porcorum pilos bulliant, nonnunquam trabes vel ligna in ripâ transversè collocent, et alia id genus deliramenta efficiant.* And when they see the successe, they are more confirm'd, as if the event follow'd theyr working. The like illusion is of theyr phantasie, in sayling in egge shells, creping through augur-holes, and such like, so vulgar in theyr confessions.

DAME.

Stay![h] All our Charmes do nothing winne
Upon the night; our labor dies!
Our magick-feature will not rise,
Nor yet the storme! We must repeate
More direfull voyces farre, and beate
The ground with vipers, till it sweate.

[h] This stop, or interruption, shew'd the better, by causing that generall silence, w^ch^ made all the following noyses, enforced in y^e^ next charme, more direfull: first imitating y^t^ of *Lucan. Miratur Erichtho Has factis licuisse moras; irata que morti Verberat immotum vivo serpente cadaver.* And then they^r^ barking, howling, hissing, and confusion of noyse, exprest by y^e^ same Author, in the same person. *Tunc vox Lethæos cunctis pollentior herbis Excantare deos, confodit murmura primum Dissona, et humanæ multū discordiâ linguæ. Latratus habet illa canum, gemitusq luporum, Quod trepidus bubo, quod striæ nocturna queruntur, Quod strident ululantq. feræ, quod sibilat anguis Exprimit, et planctus illisæ cautibus undæ, Silvarūque sonum, fractæque tonitrua nubis. Tot rerū vox una fuit.* See *Remig.* too, *Dæmonolat. lib. j. cap. xjx.*

6 CHARME.

Barke doggs, wolves howle,
Seas roare, woods roule,
Clouds crack, all be black,
But the light o^r^ Charmes do make.

DAME.

Not yet? my rage beginnes to swell;
Darknesse, *Devills*, *Night*, and *Hell*,
Do not, thus, delay my spell.
I call you once, and I call you twise,
I beate you agayne, if you stay mee thrise:
Through these cranies, where I peepe,
I'le[i] lett in the light to see yo[r] sleepe;
And all the secrets of your sway
Shall lie as open to the day,

[i] This is one of theyr common menaces, when theyr *magick* receives the least stop. Heare, *Erichtho* agayne *ibid.* *Tibi pessime mundi Arbiter immittam ruptis Titana cavernis.* *Et subito feriere die.* And a little before to *Proserpina*, *Eloquar immenso terræ sub pondere quæ te contineant Ennæa dapes*, &c.

As unto mee. Still are you deafe?
Reach me a bough,[j] that ne're bare leafe,

[j] That wither'd strayght as it shot out, w[ch] is called *Ramus feralis* by some, and *tristis by Sene. Trag. Med.*

To strike the ayre; and Aconite[k]
To hurle upon this glaring light:

[k] A deadly poysnous herbe, faynd, by *Ovid Metamo. lib. vij.* to spring out of *Cerberus* his foame. *Plinie* gives it another beginning of name. *Nat. Hist. lib. xxvij. cap. iij. Nascitur in nudis cautibus, quas aconas vocant, et inde aconitū dixere, nullo iuxtá ne pulvere quidem nutriente.* Howsoever, the juice of it is like that liquor w[ch] the *Divell* gives witches to sprinkle abroad, and do hurt, in the opinion of all the *Magick-Masters.*

A rusty knife,[l] to wound mine arme,
And, as it dropps, I'le speake a charme
Shall cleave the ground, as low as lies
Old shrunke-up *Chaös*; and let rise
Once more, his darke, and reeking head,
To strike the world and Nature dead
Untill my magick birth be bred.

[l] A rusty knife I rather give her then any other, as fittest for such a devillish ceremony, w[ch] *Seneca* might meane by *sacro cultro* in the *Tragedy* where he armes *Medea* to the like rite (for any thing I know) *Tibi nudato pectore Mænas, sacro feriā brachia cultro: Manet noster sanguis ad aras.*

7 Charme.

Black goe in, and blacker come out,
At thy going downe, we give thee a shout.
Hoo![m]
At thy rising agayne, thou shalt have two,
And if thou dost what we would have thee doe,
Thou shalt have three, thou shalt have foure,
Thou shalt have ten, thou shalt have a score.
Hoo, *Har Har*, Hoo!

8 Charme.

A cloud of pitch, a spur, and a switch,
To hast him away, and a whirlwind play
Before, and after, with thunder for laughter;
And stormes, for joy, of the roaring Boy;
His head of a drake, his tayle of a snake.

9 Charme.

About, about, and about,
Till the mist arise, and the lights fly out,
The images neyther be seene nor felt;
The woollen burne, and the waxen melt;
Sprinkle yo[r] liquors upon the ground,
And into the ayre, around, around.
Around, around,
Around, around,
Till a musique sound,[n]
And the pase be found,
To w[ch] we may daunce,
And o[r] *charmes* advaunce.

[m] These shouts and clamours, as also the voyce *Har, Har,* are very particular w[th] them by the testimony of *Bodin. Remigius Delrio.* and *M. Phil. Ludwig. Elich,* who, out of them, reports it thus. *Tota turba colluviesque pessima fescenninos in honorem Dæmonum cantat obscœnissimos: Hæc canit, Har, Har. Illa, Diabole Diabole Salta huc, salta illuc; Altera, lude hûc, lude illic; Alia Sabaath, Sabaath,* &c., *Imò clamoribus, sibilis, ululatibus popysmis furit ad debacchatur: pulveribus, vel venenis acceptis, quæ hominibus, pecudibusque spargant.*

[n] Nor do they want musique, and in strange manner given yē by the *Devill,* if we credite they[re] confessions in *Remig. Dæm. lib. j. cap. xix.*, such as y[e] *Syrbenæam* quires were, w[ch] *Athenæus* remembers out of *Clearchus, Deipnos. lib. xv.*, where every

one sung what he would, without hearkning to his fellow; like the noyse of diverse oares falling in the water. But be patient of *Remigius* relation, *Miris modis illic miscentur, ac turbantur omnia, nec ullâ oratione satis exprimi queat, quam strepant sonis inconditis absurdis, ac discrepantibus. Canit hic Dæmon ad tibiam, vel verius ad contũ, aut baculũ aliquod, quod forte humi repertũ, buccæ ceu tibiam admovet. Ille pro lyra equi calvariam pulsat, ac digitis concrepat. Alius fuste, vel clava graviore quercũ tundit, unde exauditur sonus, ac boatus veluti tympanorum vehementius pulsatorũ. Intercinunt raucide, et composito ad litui morem clangore Dæmones; ipsũq. cœlum fragosâ aridâque voce feriunt.*

At w^ch^, w^th^ a strange and sodayne musique, they fell into[o] a *magicall Daunce* full of preposterous change, and gesticulation, but most applying to theyr property: who, at theyr meetings, do all thinges contrary to the custome of men, dancing back to back, hip to hip, theyr handes joyn'd, and making theyr circles backward, to the left hand, with strange phantastique motions of they^r^ heads and bodyes. All w^ch^ were excellently imitated by the maker of the *daunce*, *M^r^. Hierome Herne*, whose right it is, here to be nam'd.

[o] The manner, also, of theyr daunceing is confest in *Bodin. lib. ij. cap. iiij.*, and *Remigius, lib. j. cap. xvij. and xviij.* The summe of w^ch^ *M. Philippo Lud. Elich.* relates thus in his *Damonomag. Quest. x. Tripudijs interdum intersunt facie liberâ et apertâ; interdum obducta larvâ, linteo, cortice, reticulo, peplo, vel alio velamine, aut farrinario excerniculo involutâ.* And a little after, *Omnia fiunt ritu absurdissimo, et ab omni consuetudine hominum alienissimo, dorsis invicem observis, et in orbem junctis manibus, saltando circumeunt perinde sua jactantes capita, ut qui æstro agitantur. Remigius* addes, out of the confession of *Sybilla Morelia, Gyrum semper in lævam progredi*, w^ch^ *Plinie* observes in the *Preists* of *Cybele, Nat. Hist. lib. xxviij. cap. ii.*, and to be done w^th^ great religion. *Bodin* addes, that they use broomes in theyr hands: w^th^ w^ch^ we armd o^r^ witches. And so leave them.

In the heate of theyr *daunce*, on the sodayne, was heard a sound of loud musique, as if many instruments had given one blast. W^th^ w^ch^, not only the *Hagges* themselves, but they^r^ *Hell*, into w^ch^ they ranne, quite vanish'd; and the whole face of the *Scene* altered, scarse suffring the memory of any such thing: But, in the place of it appear'd a glorious and magnificent building, figuring the *House of Fame*, in the upper part of w^ch^ were discoverd the twelve *Masquers*, sitting upon a throne triumphall, erected in forme of a *Pyramide*, and circled w^th^ all store of light. From whome a person, by this time, de-

scended, in the furniture of *Perseus;* and expressing *heroicall* and *masculine vertue,* began to speake.

HEROIQUE VIRTUE.

So should, at Fame's loud sound, and Vertue's sight,
All poore, and envious witchcraft fly the light.
I did not borrow *Hermes'* wings, nor aske[p]
His crooked sword, nor put on Pluto's caske,
Nor on mine arme advaunced wise *Pallas* shield,
(By w^ch my face avers'd, in open feild,
I slew the *Gorgon*) for an empty name:
When Vertue cut of Terror, he gat Fame:
And, if when Fame was gotten, Terror dyde,
What black Erynnis, or more Hellish pride
Durst arme these Hagges, now she is growne and great,
To think they could her glories once defeate.
I was her Parent, and I am her strength.
Heroique Virtue sinkes not under length
Of yeares, or ages, but is still the same
While he preserves, as when he got *good Fame.*
My daughter, then, whose glorious house you see,
Built all of sounding brasse, whose columnes bee
Men-making *Poets,* and those well made men,
Whose strife it was, to have the happiest pen
Renowme them to an after-life, and not
W^th pride to scorne the Muse, and dye forgot;
She, that enquireth into all the world,
And hath, about her vaulted palace, hoorl'd
All rumors, and reports, or true orvayne,
What utmost landes or deepest seas contayne,
(But, only, hangs great actions on her file)
She to this *lesser World* and *greatest Ile,*
To night soundes Honor, w^ch she would have seene
In yond bright bevie, each of them a *Queene.*

[p] The Antients expressed a brave and masculine *virtue* in three figures (of *Hercules, Perseus,* and *Bellerophon*) of w^ch I chose y^t of *Perseus,* arm'd as I have him described out of *Hesiod. Scuto Hercul.* See *Apollodor.* the gramarian of him, *lib. ij.*

Eleven of them are of times long gone.
Penthesilea, the brave *Amazon*;
Swifte-foote *Camilla*, *Queene* of *Volscia*;
Victorious *Thomyris* of *Scythia*;
Chast *Artemisia*, the *Carian* dame,
And fayre-hayr'd *Beronice*, *Ægipts* fame;
Hypsicratea, glory of *Asia*;
Candace, pride of *Athiopia*;
The *Britanne* honor, *Voadicea*;
The vertuous *Palmyrene*, *Zenobia*;
The wise and warlike *Goth*, *Amalasunta*;
And bold *Valasca* of Bohemia.
These (in theyr lives, as fortunes) crown'd the choyse
Of woman-kind, and 'gaynst all opposite voyce
Made good to Time, had after death the clayme
To live æternis'd in the *House of Fame*.
Where howrely hearing (as what there is old?)
The glories of *Bel-anna* so well told,
Queene of the Ocean; how that she alone
Possest all vertues, for wch, one by one,
They were so fam'd; and wanting then a head
To forme yt sweete and gracious Pyramede,
Wherein they sit, it being the soveraigne place
Of all that *Palace*, and reserv'd to grace
The worthiest Queene: These, wthout envy, on her
In life desired that honor to confer,
Wch, wth theyr death, no other should enjoy.
She this embracing, wth a vertuous joy,
Farre from *selfe-love*, as humbling all her worth
To him that gave it, hath agayne brought forth
Theyr names to Memory, and meanes this night
To make her, once more, visible to light.
And to that light, from whence her truth of spirit
Confesseth all the lustre of her merit.

To you, most royall, and most happy King,
Of whome *Fame's* house, in every part, doth ring
For every vertue; but can give no increase,
Not, though her loudest trumpet blaze yo^r peace:
To you that cherish every great example
Contracted in yo^r selfe; and being so ample
A feild of honor, cannot but embrace
A spectacle so full of love, and grace
Unto yo^r court: where every *Princely Dame*
Contendes to be as bounteous of her fame,
To others, as her life was good to her;
For, by theyr lives, they only did confer
Good on them selves, but by theyr fame, to yours,
And every age the benefit endures.

Here the throne wherein they sate, being *machina versatilis*, sodaynely chang'd, and in the place of it appeard *Fama bona*, as she is describd in Iconolog. di Cesare Ripa., attir'd in white, w^th white wings, having a collar of gold about her neck, and a heart hanging at it; w^ch Orus Apollo in his Hieroglyp. interprets the note of a good fame. In her right hand she bore a trumpet, in her left an olive branch, and for her state, it was as Virgil[q] describes her at the full, her feete on the ground, and her head in the cloudes. She, after the musique had done, w^ch wayted on the turning of the machine, call'd from thence to *Vertue*, and spake this.

[q] Æneid, lib. 4.

FAME.

Virtue, my father, and my honor; thou
That mad'st mee good, as great, and darst avow
No *Fame* for thyne, but what is perfect, ayde,
To night the triumphes of thy *white-wing'd Mayde*.
Do those renowmed Queenes all utmost rites
Theyr states can aske. This is a night of nights.

In mine owne *chariots* let them crowned ride,
And mine owne birds and beasts in geeres applied,
To draw them forth. Unto the first carre tie
Farre-sighted *eagles*, to note *Fame's* sharpe eye;
Vnto the second, *griffons*, that designe
Swiftnesse and strength, two other guifts of mine:
Vnto the last our *lions*, that implie
The top of graces, State and Majestie.
And let those *Hagges* be led, as captives, bound
Before theyr wheeles, whilst I my trumpet sound.

At w^ch^ the loud musique sounded as before, to give the Masquers time of descending. And here, wee cannot but take the opportunity, to make some more particular description of the *Scene*, as also of the *Persons* they presented: w^ch^, though they were dispos'd rather by chance then election, yet is it my part to justefie them all vertuous; and then the Lady, that will owne her presentation, may.

To follow therefore the rule of *chronologie*, w^ch^ wee have observ'd in o^r^ *verse*. The most upward in time was *Penthesilea*. She was Queene of the Amazons, and succeeded *Otrera*, or (as some will) *Orythyia*. She liv'd, and was present at the warre of *Troy*, on theyr part, agaynst the *Greekes*, where (as[r] *Justine* gives her testemony) *inter fortissimos viros magna ejus virtutis documenta extitére*. Shee is no where mentioned, but w^th^ the preface of honor and virtue; and is always advaunced in the head of the worthiest women. *Diodorus Siculus*[s] makes her the daughter of Mars. She was honord in her death to have it the act of Achilles. Of w^ch^,[t] *Propertius* sings this triumph to her beauty.

[r] *Epitom. Trog. Pomp., lib.* 2.

[s] *Hist. lib.* 2.

[t] *Lib.* 3. *Eleg.* 10.

Aurea cui postquam nudavit cassida frontem
Vicit victorem candida forma virum.

Next followes *Camilla*, Queene of the Volscians, celebrated by Virgil[u] about the end of the seventh booke; then whose

[u] *Æneid, lib.* 7.

verses nothing can bee imagined more exquisite, or more honoring the person they describe. They are these, where he reckons up those that came on *Turnus* part agaynst *Æneas.*

Hos super advenit Volscâ de gente Camilla,
Agmen agens equitum, & florenteis œre catervas
Bellatrix. Non illa colo, calathisve Minervæ
Femineas assueta manus, sed prœlia virgo
Dura pati, cursuque pedum prævertere ventos.
Illa vel intactæ segetis per summa volaret
Gramina, nec teneras cursu lœsisset aristas:
Vel mare per medium, fluctu suspensa tumenti,
Ferret iter, celereis nec tingeret œquore plantas.

And afterward tells her attire, and armes, w^th^ the admiration, that the *Spectators* had of her. All w^ch^, if the *Poet* created out of him selfe, without *Nature,* he did but shew how much so divine a Soule could exceede her.

The third liv'd in the age of Cyrus, the great *Persian Monarch,* and made him leave to live; *Thomyrus* Queene of the Scythians, or Massagets. A *Heroine* of a most invincible and unbroken fortitude, who, when *Cyrus* had invaded her, and taking her only sonne (rather by trechery then warre as shee objected) had slayne him; not touch'd w^th^ the griefe of so great a losse, in the juster comfort she tooke of a greater revenge, pursued not only the occasion and honor of conquering so potent an Enemye, w^th^ whome fell two hundred thousand souldiers; but, (what was right memorable in her victory) left not a messenger surviving of his side to report the *Massacre.* She is remembred both by [v] *Herodotus* and [w] *Justine* to the great renowne and glory of her kind, w^th^ this *Elogie: Quod potentissimo Persarum Monarchæ bello congressa est, ipsumque et vitâ & castris spoliavit, ad justè ulciscendam filij ejus indignissimam mortem.*

[v] In Clio.
[w] Epito. lib. x.

The fourth was honor'd to life, in the time of *Xerxes,* and

present at his great expedition into *Greece*, *Artemisia*, the *Queene* of *Caria*: whose vertue [x] *Herodotus*, not w^th^out some wonder, records. That a woman, a *Queene* without a husband, her sonne a ward, and she administring the government, occasion'd by no necessity, but a mere excellence of spirit, should embarque her selfe for such a warre; and there so to behave her, as *Xerxes*, beholding her fight, should say: [y] *Viri quidem extiterunt mihi feminæ, feminæ autem viri.* She is no lesse renowm'd for her chastety and love to her husband, *Mausolus*, [z] whose bones, (after he was dead) she preserved in ashes, and dranke in wine, making herselfe his tombe: and yet built to his memory a *moniment*, deserving a place among the seaven *Wonders of the World*, w^ch^ could not be done by lesse then a Wonder of Women.

[x] *In Polymn.*

[y] *Herod.* in *Urania.*

[z] Val. Max. lib. 4, cap. 6, and A. Gell, lib. 10, cap. 18.

The fifth was the fayre-hayr'd Daughter of *Ptolomæus Philadelphus*, by the elder *Arsinöe*; who (maried to her brother *Ptolomæus*, surnam'd *Evergetes*) was afterward Queene of *Ægipt*. I find her written both *Beronice* and *Berenice*. This lady, upon an expedition of her new-wedded Lord into *Assyria*, vowed to *Venus*, if he returnd safe and conquerour, the offring of her hayre, w^ch^ vow of hers (exacted by the successe) she afterwards performed: But her father missing it, and taking it to heart, *Conon*, a *Mathematician*, who was then in household with *Ptolomæe*, and knew well to flatter him, perswaded the King that it was tane up to Heauen, and made a Constellation; shewing him those *seven starres ad caudam Leonis*, w^ch^ are since called *Coma Beronices*. W^ch^ story, then presently celebrated by *Callimachus*, in a most elegant *poeme*, *Catullus* more elegantly converted; wherein they call her the *Magnanimous, from a virgin*: alluding (as [a] Hyginus sayth) to a rescue she made of her Father in his flight, and restoring the honor and courage of his army, even to a victory. The words are—

[a] *Astronom., lib.* 2, in *Leo.*

Cognoram à paruâ virgine magnanimam. [b]

[b] *Cat. decimâ Beronic.*

The sixth, that famous wife of *Mithridates*, and *Queene* of *Pontus*, *Hypsicratea*, no lesse an example of *vertue* then the rest: who so lov'd her Husband, as she was assistant to him in all labors and hazards of the warre, in a masculine habite. For w^ch^ cause (as *Valerius Maximus* observes) [c] she departed w^th^ a cheife ornament of her beauty. *Tonsis enim capillis, equo se et armis assuefecit, quò facilius laboribus et periculis ejus interesset.* And afterward, in his flight from *Pompey*, accompanied his misfortune, w^th^ a mind and body equally unwearied. She is solemnely registered by that grave author, as a notable præsident of *mariage-loyalty* and *love*: vertues that might rayse a meane person to the æquality w^th^ a Queene; but a Queene to the state, and honor of a *Deitye*.

[c] *Lib.* 4, *cap.* 6. *De Amor. conjug.*

The seventh, that renowme of *Æthiopia*, *Candace;* from whose excellencye the succeeding *Queenes* of that nation were ambitious to be calld so. A woman of a most haughty spirit agaynst enemies; and singular affection to her subjects. I find her celebrated by [d] *Dion* and *Pline*,[e] invading *Ægipt* in the time of *Augustus;* who, though she were enforc'd to a peace by his Lieutenant, *Petronius*, doth not the lesse worthely hold her place here, when every where this *Elogie* remaynes of her fame; that she was *Maximi animi mulier, tantique in suos meriti, ut omnes deinceps Æthiopum reginæ ejus nomine fuerint appellatæ.* She govern'd in *Meroë*.

[d] *Hist. Rom. lib.* 54.

[e] *Nat. Hist. lib.*6, *cap.*29.

The eyght, our owne honor, *Voadicea*, or *Boodicia*, by some *Bunduica*, and *Bunduca:* Queene of the *Iceni*, a people that inhabited that part of the Iland, w^ch^ was call'd *East-Anglia*, and comprehended *Suffolke*, *Norfolke*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntingdon* shires. Since she was borne here at home, we will first honor her w^th^ a home-borne testemony from the grave and diligent Spenser[f].

[f] *Ruin of Time.*

Bunduca, *Britonesse*,
Bunduca, that victorious Conqueresse,

That lifting up her brave heroique thought,
'Bove womens weakenesse, w^th^ the Romanes fought;
Fought, and in feild agaynst them thrise prevayled, &c.

To w^ch^, see her orations in story, made by *Tacitus*[g] and *Dion*,[h] wherin is expressed all magnitude of a spirit breathing to the liberty and redemption of her countrey. The latter of whome doth honest her, beside, w^th^ a particular description. *Bunduica Britannica femina, orta stirpe regiâ, quæ non solum eis cum magnâ dignitate præfuit, sed etiam bellum omne administravit, cujus animus virilis, potius quam muliebris erat.* And afterwards *femina formâ honestistimâ, vultu severo, &c.* All w^ch^ doth waygh the more to her true prayse, in comming from the mouthes of *Romanes* and enemies. She liv'd in the time of *Nero*.

[g] *Annal. lib.* 14.
[h] *Epit. Joan. Xiphilin* in *Ner.*

The ninth in time, but æquall in fame, and (the cause of it) vertue, was the chast *Zenobia*, Queene of the *Palmyrenes:* who, after the death of her Husband, *Odenatus*, had the name to be reckond among the *xxx.* that usurp'd the *Romane Empire* from *Galienus*. She continew'd a long and brave warre agaynst severall *Cheifes*, and was at length triumphed on by *Aurelian;* but *eâ specie, ut nihil pompabilius P. Rom. videretur.* Her chastety was such, *ut ne virum suum quidem sciret, nisi tentatis conceptionibus.* She liv'd in a most royal manner, and was adord to the custome of the *Persians*. When she made orations to her souldiers, she had alwayes her caske on. A woman of a most divine spirit and incredible beauty. In[i] *Trebellius Pollio* reade the most noble description of a *Queene*, and her, that can be utter'd with the dignity of an *Historian*.

[i] *In Trigin. Tyrann.*

The tenth succeeding, was that learned and herioque *Amalasunta, Queene* of the *Ostrogothes*, daughter to *Theodorick*, that obtayn'd the principality of *Ravenna*, and almost all *Italy*. She drave the *Burgundians* and *Almaynes* out of

Liguria, and appear'd in her government rather an example then a second. She was the most eloquent of her age, and cunning in all languages, of any nation y^t^ had commerce w^th^ the *Romane Empire*.[j] It is recorded of her that, *sine veneratione eam viderit nemo, pro miraculo fuerit ipsam audire loquentem: Tantaque illi in decernendo gravitas, ut criminis convicti, cum plecterentur, nihil sibi acerbum pati viderentur.*

[j] *M. Anton Cocci. Sabell.* (out of *Cassiod.*) Ennead. vij. lib. ij.

The eleventh was that brave *Bohemian Queene*, *Valasca*, who, for her courage, had the surname of *Bold*. That to redeeme herselfe and her sexe from the *tyranny* of men, w^ch^ they lived in, under *Primislaus*, on a night, and at an hower appoynted, led on the women to the slaughter of theyr barbarous *husbands* and *lords;* and possessing them selves of their horses, armes, treasure, and places of strength, not only rul'd the rest, but liv'd many years after w^th^ the liberty and fortitude of *Amazons*. Celebrated (by *Raphael Vollaterranus*,[k] and in an elegant tract of an *Italians*,[l] in *Latine*, who names himselfe *Philalethes, Polytopiensis civis*) *inter præstantissimas feminas.*

[k] *In Geograp. lib.* 7.
[l] *Forcia quæst.*

The twelvth, and worthy *Soveraigne* of all I make *Bel-anna*, Royall *Queene* of the *Ocean;* of whose dignity and person the whole scope of the Invention doth speake throughout: w^ch^ to offer you agayne here, might but prove offence to that sacred modesty, w^ch^ heares any testemony of others iterated w^th^ more delight, then her owne prayse. She being placed above the neede of such ceremony, and safe in her princely vertue agaynst the good or ill of any witnesse. The name of *Bel-anna* I devis'd to honor hers *proper*, by; as adding to it the attribute of Fayre, and is kept by mee in all my *Poemes*, wherin I mention her Majesty w^th^ any shadow or *figure*. Of w^ch^ some may come forth with a longer *desteny* then this *age*, commonly, gives the best births, if but help'd to light by her gratious and ripening favor.

But here I discerne a possible objection, arising agaynst mee,

to wᶜʰ I must turne: As, *How I can bring persons of so different ages to appeare properly together? or why (wᶜʰ is more unnaturall)* wᵗʰ Virgil's Mezentius, *I joyne the living wᵗʰ the dead.* I answere to both these at once; Nothing is more proper; nothing more naturall; for these all live, and together, in theyr *Fame;* and so I present them. Besides, if I would fly to the all-daring power of *Poetry*, where could I not take sanctuary? or in whose Poeme?

There rests now, that wee give the description (we promist) of the Scene, wᶜʰ was the House of *Fame.* The structure and ornamente of wᶜʰ (as is profest before) was intierly *Mr. Jones* his invention and designe. First, for the lower columnes, he chose the statues of the most excellent *Poets*, as *Homer*, *Virgil*, *Lucan*, &c., as beeing the substantiall supporters of *Fame.* For the vpper, *Achilles*, *Æneas*, *Cæsar*, and those great *Heroes* wᶜʰ those *poets* had celebrated. All wᶜʰ stood as in massy gold. Betwene the Pillars, underneath, were figured *land-battayles*, *sea-fights*, *triumphes*, *loves*, *sacrifices*, and all magnificent subjects of honor, in brasse, and heightened wᵗʰ silver. In wᶜʰ he professt to follow that noble description, made by *Chaucer* of the like place. Above were plac'd the *Masquers*, over whose heads he devised two eminent figures of *Honor* and *Vertue*, for the *arch.* The freezes, both below and above, were filld wᵗʰ severall colour'd lights, like *emeralds*, *rubies*, *saphires*, *carbuncles*, &c. The reflexe of wᶜʰ, wᵗʰ other lights plac'd in yᵉ concave, upon the *Masquers'* habites was full of glory. These habites had in them the excellency of all device and riches; and were worthely varied, by his invention, to the *Nations* whereof they were *Queenes.* Nor are these alone his due, but diverse other accessions to the strangeness and beauty of the *spectacle*, as the *Hell*, the going about of the *chariots*, the binding of the *witches*, the turning *machine*, wᵗʰ the præsentation of *Fame.* All wᶜʰ I willingly acknowledge for him; since it is a vertue planted in good natures, that what re-

spects they wish to obtayn fruictfully from others, they will give ingenuously themselves.

By this time, imagine the *Masquers* descended, and agayne mounted into three triumphant *chariots*, ready to come forth. The first foure were drawne w^th^ *Eagles* (wherof I gave the reason, as of the rest, in *Fame's* speech) theyr 4 torchbearers attending on the *chariot* sides, and foure of the *Hagges* bound before them. Then follow'd the second, drawne by *Griffons*, w^th^ theyr torchbearers and four other *Haggs*. Then the last, w^ch^ was drawne by *Lions*, and more eminent (wherin her Ma^tie^ was) and had sixe torchbearers more, (peculiar to her) w^th^ the like number of *Hagges*. After w^ch^ a full triumphant *Musique*, singing this song, while they rode in state about the stage.

SONG.

Helpe, helpe, all tongues, to celebrate this wonder:
The voyce of *Fame* should be as loud as thonder.
Her House is all of *echo* made,
Where never dies the sound;
And, as her browes the clouds invade,
Her feete do strike the ground.
Sing then *good Fame*, that's out of *Vertue* borne,
For, who doth fame neglect, doth vertue scorne.

Here they alighted from theyr *chariots*, and daunc'd forth theyr first *daunce*; then a second, immediately following it: both right curious, and full of subtile and excellent changes, and seem'd perform'd w^th^ no lesse spirits, then those they personated. The first was to the *cornets*, the second to the *violins*. After w^ch^ they tooke out the men, and daunc'd the *Measures*, entertayning the time, almost to the space of an hower, w^th^ singular variety. When, to give them rest, from the *Musique* w^ch^ attended the *chariots*, by that most excellent *tenor* voyce, and exact singer (her Ma^ties^ servant, *Mr. Jo. Allin*) this Ditty was sung.

SONG.

When all the *Ages* of the earth
Were crowned, but in this *famous birth;*
And that, when they would boast theyr store
Of *worthy Queenes*, they knew no more:
How happier is that *Age*, can give
A *Queene*, in whome all they do live.

After w^ch^ they daunc'd theyr third *daunce*, then w^ch^ a more *numerous* composition could not be seene: *graphically* dispos'd into *letters*, and honouring the name of the sweete and ingenious *Prince, Charles, Duke of Yorke*, wherin, beside that principall grace of perspicuity, the motions were so even and apt, and theyr expression so just, as if *Mathematicians* had lost *proportion*, they might there have found it. The author was Mr. Tho. Giles. After this, they daunc'd *Galliards* and *Corrantos*. And then theyr last *daunce*, no lesse elegant (in the place) then the rest, w^th^ w^ch^ they tooke theyr *chariots* agayne, and triumphing about the stage, had theyr return to the *House of Fame* celebrated w^th^ this last *song*, whose *notes* (as to the former) were the worke and honor of my excellent Friend, *Alfonso Ferrabosco*.

SONG.

Who, *Virtue*, can thy power forget,
That sees these live, and triumph yet?
Th' *Assyrian* pompe, the *Persian* pride,
Greekes glory, and the *Romanes* dy'de.
And who yet imitate
Theyr noyses, tary the same fate.
Force Greatnesse, all the glorious wayes
You can, it soone decayes;
But so *good Fame* shall never:
Her triumphs, as theyr causes, are for ever.

To conclude w^{ch}, I know no worthyer way of *Epilogue*, then the celebration of who were the *Celebraters*.

The Queenes Ma^{tie}.
Co. of Arundell.
Co. of Derbye.
Co. of Huntingdon.
Co. of Bedford.
Co. of Essex.
Cou. of Montgomery.
La. Cranborrne.
La. El. Guilford.
La. Anne Winter.
La. Windsore.
La. Anne Clifford.

THE END.

THE TWELVTH NIGHT'S REVELLS.

Plinie Solinus Prolomæe, and of late, Leo Africanus, remember unto us a river in Aethiopia, famous by the name of Niger, of w^ch^ the people were called Nigritæ, nowe Negros, and are the blackest nation of the world. This river taketh his springe owt of a certaine lake, eastward, and after a longe race, falleth into the Westerne Ocean.

Hence the invention is deriv'd, and presented thus. In the end of the designd place, there is drawne uppon a downe right cloth, straynd for the scene, a devise of landtscope, w^ch^ openinge in manner of a curtine, an artificiall sea is seene to shoote foorth it self abroad the roome, as if it flowed to y^e^ land. In front of this sea are placed six Tritons, with instrumentes made of antique shells for musique, and behind them two Sea-maides. Betweene y^e^ Maydes a payre of Sea-horses, figured to the life, put foorth them selves in varied dispositions; uppon whose backes are advanced Oceanus and Niger, arme in arme enfolded.

Oceanus naked, the cullors of his flesh blew, and shadowed w^th^ a roab of seagreene. His bodie of a humane forme. His head and beard gray. Hee is gyrlanded w^th^ sea-grasse, and his hand sustaynes a Trident.

Niger in forme and coullor of an Aethiope blacke: his hayre and rare beard curled; shadow'd w^th^ a blew and bright mantle; his necke and wrists adorned w^th^ pearle, crowned w^th^ an artificiall wreath of cane and paper rush.

These induce the Masquers, w^ch^ are twelve Nymphs,

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Negros, and ye daughters of Niger, attended by as manie of the Oceanie, who are their light-bearers.

The Masquers are placed in an entire concave shell of mother of pearle, curiously made to move on those waters, and guarded (for more ornament) wth Dolphins and Sea-monsters of different shapes: on wch in payres their light-bearers are, wth their lights burninge out of Murex shelles, advanced.

The attire of ye Masquers is alyke in all, wthout difference. Their cullours azure and silver; their hayre thicke, and curled upright in tresses, lyke Pyramids, but retoorninge in the top, with a dressinge of feathers and jewells. And for the eare, necke, and wrist, the ornament of ye brightest pearle, best settinge of from the blacke.

For the light-bearers, sea-greene, their faces and armes blew. Their hayres loose and flowinge, gyrlanded wth Alga, or sea-grasse, and yt stucke about wth braunches of corall, and water lillyes.

These thus presented, one of the Tritons, wth the two Sea-maydes, beginne to singe to the other lowd musique. Their voyces being a tenor, and two trebles.

THE SONG.

Sound, sound aloud
The welcum of the orient Floud
Into the west:
Fayre Niger, sonne to great Oceanus,
Now honored thus,
Wth all his beauteous race:
Who though but black in face,
Yet are they bright,
And full of life and light;
To prove that beauty best,
Wch not ye coullor but ye feature
Assures unto ye Creature.

W^ch^ ended, and the musique ceassinge, Oceanus provokes Niger as followeth.

OCEANUS.

Bee silent now the ceremony's done:
And Niger, say, howe comes it, lovely sonne,
That thou, the Aethiop's river, so far east
Art seene to fall in y^e^ extreamest west
Of mee, the King of floud's Oceanus,
And in myne empires hart salute mee thus?
What is the end of thy Herculean labors,
Extended to those calme and blessed shores?

NIGER.

To doe a kynd and carefull father's parte,
In satisfying every pensive harte
Of these my daughters, my most loved birth;
Who, though they were first-form'd dames of Earth,
And in whose sparcklinge and refulgent eyes
The glorious sonne did still delight to rise;
Though hee (the best Judg, and most formal cause
Of all dames' bewties) in their firme hews drawes
Signes of his ferventst love, and therby shewes
That in their blacke the perfect'st beauty growes;
Since the fixt cullour of their curled hayre
(W^ch^ is the heighest grace of dames most fayre)
No cares, no age, can chandge, or there display
The fearfull tincture of abhorred gray.
Since Death him self (him self beinge pale and blew)
Can never alter their most faithfull hew;
All w^ch^ are arguments to prove howe farre
Their beauties conquer in great Beauties warre:
And now how neare Divinitie they bee
That stand from passion, or decay so free:

Yet since the fabulous voyces of some few
(Poore braynsicke men, stild poets, here w^th^ you)
Have with such envy of their graces sunge
The paynted beauties, other empires sprung,
Lettinge their loose and winged fictions fly,
To infect all climattes, yea, our puritie,
As of one Phaethon that fir'd the world,
And that before his heedlesse flames were hurl'd
About the Globe, the Aethiops were as fayre
As other dames, nowe blacke w^th^ blacke dispayre,
And in respect of their complexions chaungd
Are each where since for lucklesse creatures rang'd.
W^ch^ when my daughters heard (as woemen are
Most jealous of their beauties) feare and care
Possest them whole, yea, and beleevinge them,
They wept such ceaslesse teares into my streame,
That it hath thus farre overflow'd his shore,
To seeke them pacience whoe have since ermore,
As the Sonne riseth, chargd his burninge throne
W^th^ vollyes of revilinges; cause hee shone
On their scorcht chekes w^th^ such intemperat fiers,
And other dames made queenes of all desiers.
To frustrat w^ch^ strange errour oft I sought,
(Though most in vayne against a settled thought,
As woemens are) till they confirm'd att length,
By miracle, what I with soe much strength
Of argument resisted; (else they faynd)
For in the lake where their first springe they gaind,
As they satt coolinge their soft lymbs by night,
Appeard a face all circumfusd w^th^ light,
Wherein they might decipher through the streame,
(And sure they saw't, for Aethiops never dreame)
These wordes—

That they a land must forthwith seeke,
Whose termination of y^e^ Greeke

Sounds Tania, where bright Sol, y^t^ heatt
Their bloodes, doeth never rise nor sett,
But in his jorney passeth by,
And leaves that climatte of y^e^ sky
To comfort of a greater light,
That formes all beautyes w^th^ his sight.

In search of this have wee three Princ-doomes past
That speake owt Tania in their accents last;
Blacke Mauritania first, and secondly
Swarth Lusitania. Next we did descry
Rich Aquitania, and yet cannot find
The place unto those longing nymphes designd.
Instruct and ayd mee, great Oceanus:
What land is this that nowe appeares to us?

OCEANUS.

This land, that lifts into the temperate ayre
Hir snowy cliffe, is Albion the fayre,
So calld of Neptune's sonne, y^t^ ruleth here;
For whose deare guard my self four thousand yeere
(Since old Deucalions dayes) have walkt the round
About his empire, proud to see him crownd
Above my waves.

At this the Moone is discovered in y^e^ upper parte of the house, triumphant in a chariot, hir garments white and silver, the dressinge of her head antique, and crownd w^th^ lights. To her Niger.

NIGER.

O, see our silver starre,
Whose pure auspicious light greetes us thus farre.
Great Aethiopia, Goddesse of our store,
Since w^th^ particular woorshipp wee adore

Thy generall brightnesse, lett particular grace
Shine on my zealous daughters: show y^e^ place
W^ch^ longe their longinges urgd their eyes to see.
Bewtifie them that long have diefied thee.

AETHIOPIA.

Niger, bee gladd: resume thy native cheere,
Thy daughters' labors have theyr period here,
And so thy errors. I was that bright face
Reflected by the lake, in w^ch^ thy race
Read mistick lynes, w^ch^ skyll Pithagoras,
First taught to men by a reverberat glasse.
This blessed Ille doth with that Tania end,
W^ch^ their they sawe inscrib'd, and shall extend
Wish'd satisfaction to their best desiers.
Britania, w^ch^ the triple world admyres,
This Ille hath nowe recovered for his name,
Where raigne the beauties y^t^ w^th^ so much fame
The sacred Muses' sonnes have honored,
And from sweete Hesperus to Eous, spread.
W^th^ that great name, Britania, this blest ille
Hath wonne his antient dignitie and stile,
A world divided from the world, and tryed
The abstract of it in his generall pride.
And were the World, with all his wealth, a ringe,
Britannia (whose fresh name makes thunder singe)
Might bee a diamond woorthy to enchace it,
Rul'd by a Sunne that to this height doeth grace it,
Whose beames shine day and night, and are of force
To blanch an Aethiop and revive a corse:
His light scientiall is, and past meere Nature,
Can salve the rude defects of every creature.

Call forth thy honor'd daughters, then,
And lett them, fore the Britaine men,

Indent the land with those pure traces,
They flow with in their native graces.
Invite them boldly to y^e^ shore,
Their beauties shalbee scorts't no more.
This sonne is temperate, and refines
All thinges on w^ch^ his radiance shines.

Here the Tritons sound, and they daunce on y^e^ shore, every couple (as they advance) severally presentinge their fannes; in one of w^ch^ are inscrib'd their mixed names, in the other a mute hieroglyphick, expressinge their mixed qualities, w^ch^ manner of symbole wee rather choose, then impresse, as well for strangenesse, as relishinge more of antiquitie, and nearer applyinge to y^t^ originall doctrine of sculpture w^ch^ the Aegiptians are sayd first to have derived from the Aethiopians.

When their owne daunce is ended, as they are about to choose their men, on[e] from the sea is heard to call them w^th^ this songe, sunge by a tenor voyce.

SONGE.

Cum away, cum away;
We grow jealous of your stay:
If you doe not stopp yo^r^ eare,
Wee shall have more cause to feare
Syrens of the land, then they
To doubt the Syrens of y^e^ sea.

Here they daunce w^th^ there men, w^ch^ beinge perfect, they are againe provoked from the sea, w^th^ a songe of two trebles, iterated in y^e^ fall by a double Echo.

SONGE.

Treb. 1. { Daughters of the subtill floud,
Do not let earth longer entertaine you.

Treb. 2. { 'Tis to them enough of good,
That yo^u^ geive this little hope to gaine you.

Treb. 1. If they love,
Treb. 2. You shall quickly see.
Treb. 1. { For when to flight you move,
They'll follow you y^e more yo^u flee.
Tre. do. { If not, impute it each to other matter:
They are but earth, and what you owed was water.

W^th this, Aethiopia speakes againe.

AETHIOPIA.

Enough, bright nymphes, the night grows old,
And we are griev'd wee cannot hold
You longer light; but comfort take:
Yo^r father only to the Lake
Shall make returne; yo^r selves w^th feastes
Must here remayne, the Ocean's guests.
Nor shall this vayle the Sunne hath cast
Above yo^r bloods more sommers last,
For w^ch you shall observe these rites
Thirteene tymes thrice, on thirteene nights.
Soo often as I fill my spheare
W^th glorious light throughout the yeare,
You shall, when all things ells doo sleepe
Save yo^r chast thoughts, w^th reverence steepe,
Yo^r bodyes in that purer brine,
And holsome dew, called Ros-Marine,
Then with that soft and gentle fome,
Of w^ch the Ocean yet yeeldes some,
Whereof bright Venus, Beauties Queene,
Is sayd to have begotten beene,
You shall yo^r gentler lymbs ore-lave,
And for yo^r paynes perfection have:
Soe that this night, the yeare gone round,
You doe againe salute this ground,
And in the beames of yond bright sunne
Yo^r faces dry, and all is done.

With w^{ch} in a daunce they returne to the sea agayne, where they take their shell, and with a full songe goo owt.

SONG.

Now Dian wth the burning face
Decline's apace:
By w^{ch} our waters know
To ebb, that late did flow.
Backe seas, backe Nymphes; but wth a forward grace
Keepe still yo^{r} reverence to y^{e} place,
And shout wth joy of favor you have wonne
In sight of Albion, Neptun's sonne.

Hos ego versiculos feci.

BEN. JONSON.

THREE COURT MASKS;

VIZ.:

THE MOUNTEBANK'S MASK,

BY JOHN MARSTON.

THE MASK OF THE TWELVE MONTHS.

THE MASK OF THE FOUR SEASONS.

PRINTED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

THE MOUNTEBANK'S MASK.

THE FIRST ANTIMASKE OF MOWNTEBANKES.

MOUNTEBANK'S SPEECH.

The greate Master of medicine, Æsculapius, preserve and prolong the sanitie of these Royall and Princely Spectators. And if any here present happen to be valetudinarie, the blessed finger of our grand Master Paracelsus bee at hand for their speedie reparation. I have heard of a madd fellowe that styles himselfe a merry Greeke, and goes abroade by the name of Paradox, who with frisking and dauncing, and newe broacht doctrine, hath stolne himselfe, this Festivall tyme of Christmas, into favour at the Court of Purpoole, and having there gott some approbation for his small performance, is growne so audacious as to intrude himselfe into this honoured presence. To prevent whose further growyng fame, I have, with these my fellowe Artists of severall nations, all famous for the banke, hether made repaire, to present unto your view more wholesome, more pleasing, and more novell delights, which, to avoyd prolixitie, I distribute into these following common places.

Names of Diseases cured by us,
Which being infinite, purposelie we omitt.
Musicall Charmes,
Familiar Receipts,

Sing their Songs, viz.:

Chorus. What ist you lack, what would you buye?
What is it that you neede?
Come to me, Gallants; tast and trye:
Heers that will doe the deede.

1 Songe.

1. Heers water to quench mayden fires;
Heers spirits for olde occupiers;
Heers powder to preserve youth long,
Heers oyle to make weake sinews strong.
What!

2. This powder doth preserve from fate;
This cures the Maleficiate:
Lost Maydenhead this doth restore,
And makes them Virgins as before.
What!

3. Heers cure for tooth ache, feaver, lurdens,
Unlawfull and untimely burthens:
Diseases of all Sexe and Ages
This Medicine cures, or els asswages.
What!

4. I have receipts to cure the gowte,
To keepe poxe in, or thrust them owte;
To coole hott bloods, colde bloods to warme,
Shall doe you, if noe good, no harme.
What!

2 Mo. Song.

1. Is any deffe? Is any blinde?
Is any bound, or loose behinde?

Is any fowle, that would be faire?
Would any Lady change her haire?
Does any dreame? Does any walke,
Or in his sleepe affrighted talke?
I come to cure what ere you feele,
Within, without, from head to heele.

2. Be drummes or rattles in thy head;
Are not thy braynes well tempered?
Does Eolus thy stomak gnawe,
Or breed there vermine in thy mawe?
Dost thou desire, and cannot please,
Loe! heere the best Cantharides.
I come.

3. Even all diseases that arise
From ill disposed crudities,
From too much study, too much paine,
From lasines, or from a straine,
From any humor doing harme,
Bee't dry or moist, or could or warme.
I come.

4. Of lasie gowte I cure the Rich;
I ridd the Beggar of his itch;
I fleame avoyde, both thick and thin:
I dislocated joyntes put in.
I can old Æsons youth restore,
And doe a thousand wonders more.
Then come to me. What!

3 Song.

1. Maydes of the chamber or the kitchinge,
If you be troubled with an itchinge,

Come give me but a kisse or twoe,
Ile give you that shall soone cure you.
Nor Galen nor Hipocrates
Did ever doe such cures as theis.

2. Crakt maids, that cannot hold your water,
Or use to breake wynd in your laughter;
Or be you vext with kibes or cornes,
Ile cure; or Cuckolds of their hornes.
Nor Galen.

3. If lustie Doll, maide of the Dairie,
Chance to be blew-nipt by the Fairie,
For making Butter with her taile,
Ile give her that did never faile.
Nor Galen.

4. Or if some worse mischance betide her,
Or that the night mare over ride her;
Or if shee tell all in a dreame,
Ile cure her for a messe of creame.
Nor Galen.

4 M. Song.

1. Is any so spent, that his wife keepes lent?
Does any wast in his marrowe?
Is any a slugg? Lett him tast of my drugg,
Twill make him as quick as a sparrow.
My powder and oyle, extracted with toile,
By rare sublimbe infusions,
Have proofe they are good, by myne owne deere bloode,
In many strange conclusions.

2. Does any consume with the salt French rhewme?
Doth the Gowte or palsy shake him:
Or hath hee the stone, ere a moneth be gone,
As sound as a bell Ile make him.
My powder.

3. The greefes of the spleene, and maides that be greene,
Or the heate in the Ladies faces;
The gripes of the stitch, or the Schollers itch,
In my cures deserue no places.
My powder.

The Webb or the Pinn,[1] or the morphew of skynn,
Or the rising of the mother,
I can cure in a trice. Oh, then, be not nice,
Nor ought that greeves you smother.
My powder.

FAMILIAR RECEIPTS.

An approved receipt against Melancholie fœminine.

If any Lady be sick of the Sullens, she knowes not where, let her take a handfull of simples, I know not what, and use them I know not how, applying them to the parte grievde, I knowe not which, and shee shall be well, I knowe not when.

Against the Skirvie.

If any Scholler bee troubled with an itch, or breaking out, which in tyme may prove the Skirvy, lett him first forbeare clawing and fretting meates, and then purge choller, but by noe meanes upwards.

For restoring Gentlemen Ushers' Leggs.

If any Gentleman Usher hath the consumption in his legges, lett him feede lustelie on veale two monethes in the

[1] See "Winter's Tale," act i., sc. 2, and "King Lear," act iii., sc. 4.

spring tyme, and forbeare all manner of mutton, and hee shall increase in calfe.

For the Tentigo.

If any be troubled with the Tentigo, lett him travell to Japan, or, because the forest of Turnbolia is of the same altitude, or elevation of the Pole, and at hand, lett him hunt there for his recreation, and it shalbe done in an instant.

For the Angina.

If any Scholler labor of the Angina, a daungerous disease in the throate, soe that he cannot speake an howre togeather once in a quarter of a yeere, lett him forbeare all violent exercises, as trotting to Westminster Hall every terme, and all hott liquors and vapors; lett him abstayne from company, retiring himselfe warme cladd in his studie fowre daies in a weeke, *et fiet.*

For a Fellon.

If any be troubled with a Fellon on his finger, whereby he hath lost the lawfull use of his hand, lett him but once use the exercise of swinging, and stretche himselfe uppon the soveraigne tree of Tiburnia, and it will presently kill the Fellon. *Probatum.*

For a Tympanie.

If any Virgine be soe sick of Cupid that the disease is growne to a Tympanie, lett her with all speed possible remove herselfe, changing aire for forty weekes at least, keeping a spaire diett as she travelles, allwayes after using lawfull exercises, till shee be married, and then she is past daunger.

For Barrennes.

If any Lady be long married, yet childles, lett her first desire to be a mother, and to her breakefast take a newe-laid egge, in a spoonefull of goat's-milke, with a scruple of Amber-

greece; and at supper feede on a henn trodden by one cock. But above all thinges, lett her avoide hurrying in a Coroch, especially on the stones, and assuming a finer molde then nature ment her, and noe doubt she shall fructifie.

For the Falinge Sicknes.

If any woman be trobled with the falinge sicknes, lett her not travell Westward Ho, because she must avoide the Isle of Man; and for that it is an evill Spirrit only entred into her, lett her for a Charme allwayes have her legges a crosse when she is not walking, and this will help her.

For a Rupture.

If any Tradsman bee troubled with a Rupture in the bowells of his estate, that hee cannot goe abroade, lett him decoct Golde from a pound to a noble, taking the broth thereof from six monethes to six monethes, and hee shalbe as able a man as ever he was.

Nowe, Princely Spectators, to lett you see that we are men quallified from head to foote, wee will shewe you a peece of our footemanship.

Dance Antemaske.

[*Exeunt.*

Enter PARADOXE.

Helth and jouisance to this faire assembly. Now the thrice three learned Sisters forsake mee, if euer I beheld such beauties in Athens. You aske, perhappes, whoe I am that thus conceitedly salute you? I am a merry Greeke, and a Sophister of Athens, who, by fame of certaine novell and rare presentments undertaken and promised by the gallant Spirrits of Graia drawne hither, have intruded myselfe, Sophiste like, in att the back doore, to bee a Spectator, or rather a Censor of their undertakings. The Muses graunt they may satisfie our expectations. Ah, the shewes and the

songs, and the speeches, and the playes, and the comedies, and the actings that I have seene at Athens! The universe never saw the like. But lett that passe. There was another end of my coming, and that was to gett some of these Beauties to bee my desciples; for I teach them rare doctrynes, but delightfull; and if you be true Athenians, (that is, true lovers of novelties, as I hope you all are) you will give my hopes theire lookt for expectation. Knowe, then, my name is Paradox: a strange name, but proper to my discent, for I blush not to tell you truth. I am a slipp of darknes, my father a Jesuite, and my mother an Anabaptist; and as my name is strange, soe is my profession, and the art which I teach, my selfe being the first that reduced it to rules and method, beares my owne name, Paradoxe. And I pray you, what is a Parradox? It is a Quodlibet, or strayne of witt and invention strued above the vulgar conceyte, to begett admiration. And (because method is the mother of discipline) I devide my Paradoxe into theis heads—Masculine, Fœminine, and Newter; and first of the first, for the Masculine is more worthie then the Fœminine, and the Fœminine then the Newter.

Drawes his Booke and reades.

Masculine.[1]

1. He cannot be a Cuckold that weares a Gregorian, for a perriwigg will never fitt such a head.

2. A Knight of the long robe is more honorable then a Knight made in the fielde; for furrs are deerer then spurs.

3. Tis better to be a coward then a Captaine; for a goose lives longer then a cock of the game.

4. A Caniball is the lovingst man to his enemie; for willingly no man eates that he loves not.

5. A Batchelor is but halfe a man, and being wedd, he may prove more then halfe a monster; for Aries and Taurus

[1] These paradoxes are all numbered and marked by the author.

rule the head and shoulders, and Capricorne reacheth as lowe as the knees.

6. A wittall cannot be a Cuckold: for a Cuckolde is wronged by his wife, which a wittall cannot bee; for *volenti non fit injuria.*

7. A Shoemaker is the fittest man of the parish to make a Constable; for he *virtuti officii* may put any man in the stocks, and enlarge him at last.

8. A prisoner is the best fencer; for hee ever lies at a close warde.

9. An elder Brother may be a wise man; for he hath wherewithall to purchase experience, at any rate.

10. A Musicion will never make good Vintner; for he deales to much with flats and sharps.

11. A Drunkard is a good philosopher; for hee thinkes arighte that the world goes round.

12. The Divell cannot take Tobacco through his nose; for S^{t}. Dunstone hath seerd that upp with his tongs.

13. Prentices are the nimblest Scavengers; for they can clense the Citty Stews in one day.

14. Noe native Phisician can bee excellent; for all excellent simples are forriners.

15. A Master of Fence is more honorable then a M^{r}. of art; for good fighting was before good writing.

16. A Court Foole must needs be learned; for hee goes to schoole in the Porter's Lodge.

17. Burgomasters ought not to weare their furd gownes at Middsomer; for soe they may bring in the sweating sicknes againe.

18. A Cuttpurse is of the surest trade; for his worke is no sooner done, but hee hath his mony in his hand.

Fœminine.

1. Tis farr better to marrie a widdow then a maide.—*Causa patet.*

2. Down right language is the best Rhetorique to wyn a wooman; for playne dealing is a jewell, and there is no lady but desires her lapp full of them.

3. Weomen are to be commended for loving Stage players; for they are men of known action.

4. If a wooman with child long to lye with another man, her husband must consent; for if hee will not, shee will doe it without him.

5. Rich widdowes were ordained for younger brothers; for they, being borne to no land, must plow in another man's soile.

6. A maid should marry before the years of discreation; for *Malitia supplet et cætera.*

7. Tis dangerous to wed a widdow; for she hath cast her rider.

8. An English virgin singes sweeter here than at Brussells; for a voluntary is sweeter than a forct noate.

9. A greate Lady may with her honor weare her servant's picture; for a shaddowe yet never made a Cuckold.

10. A painted Lady best fitts a Captaine; for so both may fight under theire cullors.

11. It is good for a young popish wench to marry an old man; for so shee shalbe sure to keepe all fasting nights.

12. A dangerous secrett is safely plac't in a woman's bosom; for noe wise man would search for it there.

13. A woman of learning and tongues is an admirable creature; for a starling that can speake is a present for an Emperor.

14. There were never so many chast wives as in this age; for now tis out of fashion to lye with their owne husbands.

15. A greate Lady should not weare her owne haire; for that's as meane as a coate of her owne spinning.

16. A faire woman's necke should stand awrie; for so she lookes as if she were looking for a kisse.

17. Women love fish better then flesh; for they will have Place, whatever they pay for it.

Newter.[1]

1. Ould thinges are the best thinges; for there is nothing newe but diseases.

2. The best bodyes should weare the playnest habits; for painted Clothes were made to hide bare walls.

3. Dissemblers may safely be trusted; for their meaning is ever contrary to theire words.

4. Musicions cannot be but helthfull; for they live by good aire.

5. An Usurer is the best Christian; for *Quantum nummorum in arca, Tantum habet et fidei.*

6. None should haue license to marry but rich folks; for *Vacuum* is a monster *in rerum natura.*

7. A hare is more subtile then a fox; for shee makes more dubbles then old Reynard.

8. Tis better to be a beggar then a Marchant; for all the worlde lyes open to his traffique, and yet he paies no custome.

9. Tis more safe to be drunk with the hopp then with the grape; for a man should be more inward with his Countryman than with a stranger.

10. It is better to buy honour then to deserve it; for what is farr fecht and deere bought is good for Ladyes.

11. A man deepe in debt should be as deepe in drink; for Bacchus cancells all manner of obligations.

12. Playhowses are more necessary in a well govern'd Commonwelth then publique Schooles; for men are better taught by example then precept.

13. It is better to feede on vulgar and grosse meats, then on dainty and high dishes; for they that eate only partridge or quaile, hath no other brood then woodcock or goose.

[1] The word "Epicæne" is struck out by the author, and *Newter* written instead of it.

14. Taverns are more requisite in a Citty then Academies; for it is better the multitude were loving then learned.

15. A Tobacco Shop and a Bawdy howse are coincident; for smoake is not without fire.

16. An Almanacke is a booke more worthy to be studied then the history of the world; for a man to knowe himself is the most worthy knowledge, and there hee hath twelve signes to know it by.

17. Welth is better then witt; for few poetts have had the fortune to be chozen Aldermen.

18. Marriage frees a man from care; for then his wife takes all uppon her.

19. A Kennell of hounds is the best Consort; for they neede no tuning from morning to night.

The Court makes better Schollers than the Universitie; for where a King vouchsafes to bee a teacher, every man blushes to be a non proficient.

Music sounds.

Enter Pages.

Para. But harke! Musick: they are uppon entrance. I must put upp.

MAYNE MASKE.

Enter Pages 4.

Theire Song, dialoguewise.

Where shall wee finde reliefe?
Is there noe end of griefe?
Is there noe comfort left?
What cruell Charmes bereft
The patrons of our youth?
Enter Obscuritie. Wee must now begg for ruth.
Kind pitty is the most
Poore boyes can hope for, when
Their joyes are lost.

OBSCURITIE.

Light, I salute thee: I, Obscuritie,
The sonn of Darknes and forgetfull Lethe;
I, that envie thy brightnes, greete thee nowe,
Enforc't by Fate. Fate makes the strongest bow.
The ever youthfull Knights by spells inchain'd,
And long within my shady nooks restraynd,
Must be enlargd, and I the Usher bee
To theire night glories; so the Fates agree.
Then, putt on life, Obscuritie, and prove
As light as light, for awe, if not for love.
Loe! heere their tender yeerd, kind-harted Squires,
Mourning their Masters' losse: no new desires
Cann trayne them from these walks, but here they wend
From shade to shade, and give their toyles noe end.
But now will I relieve their suffring care.
Heare me, faire Youths! since you so constant are
In faith to your lov'd Knights, goe hast a pace,
And with your bright lights guide them to this place;
For if you fall directly, that discent,
Their wisht approach will farther search prevent.
Haste by the virtue of a charming songe,
While I retrive them, least they lagg to longe.

THE CALL, OR SONGE OF OBSCURITIE.

Appeare, Appeare, you happie Knights!
Heere are severall sortes of Lights:
Fire and beawtie shine togeather,
Your slowe steppes inviting hether.
Come away; and from your eyes
Th' olde shades remove,
For now the Destinies
Release you at the suite of Love.

So, so: tis well marcht, march a pace;
Two by two fill up the place,
And then with voice and measure
Greete the Kinge of Love and Pleasure.
Nowe, Musicke, change thy notes, and meete
Aptly with the Dancers' feete;
For tis the pleasure of Delight
That they shall tryumph all this night.

THE SONG AND DANCE TOGETHER.

Frolick measures now become you,
  Overlong obscured Knights:
What if Lethe did benum you,
  Love now wakes you to delights.
Love is like a golden flowre,
  Your comely youth adorning:
Pleasure is a gentle shower
  Shedd in some Aprill morning.

Lightly rise, and lightly fall you
  In the motion of your feete:
Move not till our notes doe call you;
  Musicke makes the action sweete.
Music breathing blowes the fire
  Which Cupid feeds with fuell,
Kindling honour and desire,
  And taming hartes most cruell.

  Quickly, Quickly, mend your paces,
  Nimbly changing measurd graces:
  Lively mounted high aspire,
  For joy is only found in fire.

Musicke is the soule of measure,
  Mixing both in equall grace;

Twinnes are they, begott of Pleasure,
When she wisely nombred space.
Nothing is more old or newer
Then nomber, all advancing;
And noe nomber can be truer
Then musick joyn'd with dancing.

Every Knight elect a Bewty,
Such as may thy hart inflame:
Think that her bright eye doth view thee,
And to her thy action frame.
So shall none be faint or wearie,
Though treading endles paces;
For they all are lighte and merry
Whose hopes are fedd with graces.

Sprightly, sprightly, end your paces,
Nimbly changing measurd graces:
Lively mounted high aspire,
For joy is only found in fire.

OBSCURITIE.

Servants of Love, for soe it fittes you bee,
Since hee alone hath wrought your liberty,
His ceremonies nowe and courtly rights
Performe with care, and free resolved sprights.
To sullen darknes my dull steppes reflect;
All covett that which Nature doth affect.

The Second Measure; which danc't,

SONG TO TAKE OUT THE LADIES.

On, on, brave Knights, you have well shewde
Each his due part in nimble dances:
These Bewties to whose hands are owde

Yours, wonder why
You spare to try.
Marke how inviting are their glances.
Such, such a charm, such faces, such a call,
Would make old Æson skip about the Hall.

See, see faire choise, a starry sphere
Might dymme bright day: choose here at pleasure.
Please your owne eye: Approve you heere,
Right gentle Knights:
To these softe wights
View, talk and touch, but all in measure.
Farr farr from hence be roughnesse, farr a frowne;
Your fair deportment this faire night shall crowne.

After they have danced with the Ladyes, and sett them in their places, fall to their last Dance.

Enter PARADOX, *and to him his Disciples.*

Silence, Lordings, Ladies, and fidells! Lett my tongue twang awhile. I have seene what hath beene shewed; and now give me leave to shew what hath not beene seene, for the honour of Athens. By vertue of this musicall Whistle I will summon my disciples. See obedience: heere they are all redy. Put forward, my paradoxicall Pupils, methodically and arithmetically, one by one.

1. Behould this principall Artist that swift encounters mee, whose head is honoured by his heeles for dauncing in a Chorus of a Tragedy presented at Athens, where hee produced such learned varietie of footing, and digested it so orderly and close to the ground, that hee was rewarded with this Relique, the Cothurne or Buskin of Sophocles, which for more eminence he weares on his head. The paradoxical vertue thereof is, that being dipt into River or Spring, it

alters the nature of the liquor, and returneth full of wine of Chios, Palermo, or Zaunte.

2. This second Master of the science of footemanship (for hee never came on horsback in his life) was famed att the Feast of Pallas, where in dauncing he came of with such lofty trickes, turnes above ground, capers, crosse capers, horse capers, so high and so lofty performed, that hee for prize bare away the Helmett of Pallas. The paradoxicall vertue of the Caske is, that in our travells if we fall among enemies, shew but this, and they suddenly vanish all like fearefull shaddowes.

3. Now, view this third peece of Excellence: this is hee that putt downe all the Bakers, at the feast of Ceres, and soe daunced there, as if he had kneaded doe with his feete: wherewith the Goddesse was so tickled, that shee in reward sett this goodly loafe on his head, and endued it with this paradoxicall influence, that cutt of it and eate as often as you please, it streit fills up againe, and is in the instant healed of any wound our hunger can inflict on it.

4. Approach now thou that comst in the reare of my disciples, but mayest march in the vanguard of thy validitie; for at the celebration of the feast of Venus Cytherea, this Amoroso did expresse such passion with his eyes, such castes, such wynkes, such glances, and with his whole body such delightfull gestures, such cringes, such pretty wanton mymickes, that hee wonne the applause of all; and, as it was necessary at the Feast of that Goddesse, hee had then a most ample and inflaming codpeece, which, with his other graces, purchast him this prize, the Smock of Venus, wrapt turbantlike on his head, the same shee had on when shee went to bed to Mars, and was taken napping by Vulcan. The paradoxe of it is, that if it bee hanged on the top of our Maypole, it drawes to us all the young lads and lasses neere adjoyning, without power to part till wee strike sale ourselves. And now I have named our Maypole, goe bring it forth, though it be

more cumbersome then the Trojan horse: bring it by force of armes, and see you fixe it fast in the midst of this place, least, when you circle it with your caprichious dances, it falls from the foundation, lights upon some ladyes head, and cuffes off her Periwigg. But now for the glory of Athens!

Musicke playes the Antymaske. The Disciples dance 1 *Strayne.*

Wee have given you a taste of the excellency of our Atheniall Revells, which I will now dignifie with myne owne person. Lye here, impediment, whereof being freed, I will discend. O, you Authors of Greeke woonders! what ostent is this? What supernaturall Paradoxe? a wooden Maypole find the use of voluntarie motion! Assuredly this tree was formerly the habitation of some wood nimphe, for the Dryads (as the Poets say) live in trees; and perhaps, to honour my dauncing, the nimphe hath crept into this tree againe: soe I apprehend it, and will entertaine her curtesie.

PARADOX *his Disciples, and the Maypole, all daunce.*

Did ever eye see the like footing of a tree, or could any tree but an Athenian tree doe this? or could any nimphe move it but an Athenian nimphe? Faire Nymphe, though I can nott arrive at thy lippes, yet will I kisse the wooden maske that hides thy no doubt most amyable face.

PARADOX *offers to kisse, and a Nymph's head meets him out of the Maypole.*

Woonder of woonders! Sweete Nymphe, forbeare: my whole structure trembles: mortalitie cannot stand the brightnes of thy countenance. Pursue me not, I beseech thee: putt up thy face, for love's sake. Helpe, helpe! Disciples, take away this dismall peale from me. Rescue me! Rescue me, with all your violence.—So, the Divell is gone, and I will not stay long after. Lordings and Ladies: if there bee any here desirous to be instructed in the misterye of

Paradoxinge, you shall have me at my lodging in the black and white Court, at the signe of the Naked Boye. And so to you all the best wishes of the night.

Enter MOUNTEBANKE, *like a Swisse.*

Stay, you presumptious Paradox! I have viewed thy antickes and thy Puppett, which have kindled in me the fire of Emulation. Looke; am I not in habitt as fantasticke as thy selfe? Dost thou hope for grace with Ladyes, by thy novell doctrine? I am a man of art: witnesse this, my Charming Rodd, wherewith I worke Miracles; and whereas thou, like a fabulous Greeke, hast made monsters of thy Disciples, loe! I will oppose squadron against squadron, and plaine trueth against painted fiction. Now for [thy] moving Ale-signe: but for frighting the Devill out of it, I could encounter thee with Tottnam Hie Crosse, or Cheape Crosse, (though it bee new guilt) but I scorne odds, and therefore will I affront thee Pole to Pole. Goe, Disciples: usher in our lofty inchanted motion; and, Paradoxe, now betake you to your tackling, for you deale with men that have ayre and fire in them.

PARADOXE.

Assist me, thou active Nimphe, and you, my glorious associates. Victory! Victory for Athens!

[*Dance.*

MOUNTYBANKE.

Accomplisht Greeke! now, as we are true Mountebankes, this was bravely performed on both parts, and nothing now remaynes but to make these two Maypoles better acquainted. But we must give place: the Knights appeare.

OBSCURITIE *Enter.*

Enough of these night sportes! part fairely, Knightes,
And leave an edge on pleasure, least these lightes

I suddenly dymme all; and pray, how then
Will theis gay Ladies shift among you men,
In such confusion? Some their homes may misse:
Obscuritie knowes tricks as madd as this.
But make your parting innocent for me;
I will no Author now of Error bee.
My selfe shall passe with you, a friend of lighte,
Giving to all this round a kind good nighte.

LAST SONG.

Wee must away: yet our slack pace may showe
Tis by constraint wee this faire Orbe forgoe.
Our longer stay may forfitt what but nowe
Love hath obtaind for us: to him we bowe,
And to this gentler Powre, who soe contriv'd
That wee from sullen shades are now depriv'd,
And hither brought, where Favour, Love, and Light,
Soe gloriously shine, they banish Night.
More would we say, but Fate forbids us more.—
Our Cue is out—Good night is gone before.

FINIS.

THE MASQUE OF THE TWELVE MONTHS.

To lowde Musique. The Scene being discouerd, the twelve Spheres descend, and sing to twelve Instruments this first Song, calling Bewty from her Forte, y^e^ Hearte. After which, and an Alarme given by the Pulses, the Hearte opens, and Bewty issues, attended by Aglaia, (one of the Graces) the two Pulses beating before them up towardes y^e^ King. Being neare, BEWTY *speaks.*

Bew. Peace, amourous Pulses! y'are too Martial for Peace.

Agl. If they be amourous, Madame, they must be Martiall: *Militat omnis Amans.*

Bew. They beate yet too stronglie and passionately.

Agl. Before whom should th' enamoured Pulses beate passionatelie, if not before Bewty?

Bew. Before Bewtyes Soveraigne: that enamours infinitely more, and insulte on nothing.

Agl. Before him they are. Why commaund you them to cease, then?

Bew. Because, notwithstanding all their most cause to beate before him, the maiestie and merritt enthron'd in him compelling all passionate reverence in his beholders, yet they are troublesome, and troublesome Love is lothsome. Besides, they are nowe to be employed aboute my forte, the Hearte.

Agl. What places supply they there?

Bew. The places of Sentinells; since the Pulses naturally discover y^e^ whole state of the Heart, through all the dimensions of his dilatation and contraction.

Agl. What Hearte is it, Madame? A mans Heart, or a womans Hearte?

Bew. A womans, and so greate?

Agl. What Heart so greate as a womans? And this is so bigg, it burst.

Bew. Not burst, but oppened. And that opennesse, indeed, is proper to a womans hearte; but for that weaknes, unfitt to be made a Forte. This heart, therefore, is neither man's nor woman's, but the heart of the yeare; signifying that the whole yeares cheife virtues and bewties are now to be contracted in one night, as the whole worldes are in one year.

Agl. A contraction greate and princely.

Bew. To performe, w^{ch} we are to induce, in their effectes the foure Elementes and the foure Complexions; of whose apt composition, all the Bewtie of the world is informed.

Agl. Of all w^{ch} y^{r} excellence is presented as abstract.

Bew. Being amplified wth other personages infinitely more bewtifull.

Agl. What persons are those that lye still enslumberd aboute yo^{r} Forte?

Bew. They are the issue of the Elementes and Complexions, who sent mee these their sonnes, as their homages, acknowledging mee their Soveraigne, as being their best disposer and composer.

Agl. Maye I entreate their names?

Bew. The sonne of fire is Sparke; of ayre, Atome; of water, Droppe; and of earth, Ant.

Agl. Poore yonger brothers, it seemes, serving at this Forte onely as *enfans perdus.*

Bew. Pages, pages; onely persons of forme and ridiculous pleasure.

Agl. Of w^{ch} you have nam'd yet but foure.

Bew. The other foure are y^{e} issue of y^{e} Complexions: of the sanguine, a little Cupid (Love being a cheife effect of

bloud); of choller, a little Furie (anger, w^ch^ choller causeth) being *brevis furor;* of flegme, a little Foole; and of melancholie, a little Witch.

Agl. Of whate use are those banners and bandrolls stucke upon the forte?

Bew. They are the Yeares ensignes, whose Hearte this is suppos'd, expressing in amorous mottos, inscrib'd in them, the triumphant love and loyaltie included. To this our glorie of the yeare, and his most peaceful employer.

Agl. What are those plumes stucke in y^e^ middst and toppe, as that heartes pride, and his affections scope?

Bew. The ensignes of the darling of the yeare, delicious Aprill.

Agl. What's the motto there?

Bew. His virtus nititur Alis. They are the winges of virtue, twixt w^ch^ (spight of fate) shee ballances her selfe, and staies her state; and thus much for our necessarie relation. Goe, Pulses! Beate towarde our sleepie Pages, and startle them w^th^ an alarme from their sleepe into their Antemasque, using the most spritely action they maie, to expresse in gestures their particular natures.

The Pulses beate towards the Forte, and give an Alarme; at which the eight Pages starte up, and fall into their Antemasque. After which AGLAIA *speaks.*

Agl. Here were gestures enowe, Madame, in steade of jestes.

Bew. I wishe jestes had supplied their gestures; for their want, perhappes, may argue a dearth of witt amongst us.

Agl. A want that may well chance here, w^th^out a misse. Such witt is butt like a wilde weede in a ranke soile; w^ch^ yett, being well manur'd, (I confesse) maie yeeld the wholesome croppe of wisedome and discretion, at tyme o' th' yeare, and in y^e^ meane tyme, beare the most ingenious flower of laughter.

Bew. Ingenious! what is't, but a foolish tickling of the

spleene, and, indeed, the very embleme of a foole? A quality long since banisht ye Courte; specially from all proficientes in policie, and ladies of employment.

Agl. However, Madame, meethinkes inward delight should be as pleasing as laughter. To wch end, if variety of showe be inserted, bee our hopes confident, wee shall not much misse laughter.

Bew. If showe will serve, Aglaia, we will try
To call ye whole pompe of the peacefull skye
In all the thirteene moones that decke the yeare,
And to the glorious Moneths the torches beare;
With incantations downe eithers sphere,
The Queene of all invok't. O, Cynthia!
If ever a deformed witch could drawe
The dreadfull brightnes from thie duskie throne,
Lett nowe ye Goddesse of Proportion
Much rather move it; to right him for all,
In whome all charms of Art and Nature call.

Lowde musique, and the Moones appeare like Huntresses, wth torches in their hands, &c.

Agl. O, see! yor short charme was so sweete and strong,
It past all power t' oppose or to prolong.
In all these great confiners of ye skies,
Ladies of ladies, wing'd inconstancies,
Greate Presidentes of all Earth's changing fashions,
In all her bodies ornamentes and passions,
That (never getting garmentes fitt for them)
Make lordes and ladies ravisht wth their streame.

Musique. And they dance the second Antemasque. After wch BEWTY *speaks.*

Bew. Theise fires, I hope, have made ye colde night warme
With stirring pleasures; and our royall charme
Call'd downe wth it as much delight as light.
Agl. Soe maie it; and disclose the crowning sight

Of all y^e^ Moneths, for w^ch^ these moones were made,
As upper torchbearers, to guild their shade.

After this, PROGNOSTICATION *enters, caperinge.*

Bew. Howe nowe! what frolicke person have wee here?
Agl. Prognostication, Madame, that nowe enters,
In prime of this newe yeare, in all his honors
Sought to for his predictions; and forerunnes
The Moneths, our Masquers, and newe rising sunnes.

After this, he dances vpp, and delivers his prognostications; w^ch^ done, lowde Musique, and the Masquers descend, BEWTY *speaking.*

Bew. Admire, admire, the full pompe of the yeare,
Contracted, yett much amplified here.
Agl. What glorious Moneths renowme that first araie!
Bew. There princely Aprell sittes; and flourishing May;
Sweete Aprill, lov'd of all, yett will not love,
Though Love's great godhead for his fauor stroue,
Fetherd his thoughtes, and to his bosome flewe,
Like to a nightingale, that there did sewe,
To save her life, sought by some bird of prey.
Hee smil'd at first, and gave her leave t'allay
Her fright in shadowe of his flowrie hand:
W^ch^ pleas'd her so, that there she tooke her stand,
And sung for joie; then tooke another showe,
And seem'd a lovely Nymphe w^th^ shaftes and bowe,
And shott at birdes aboute him. He drewe nye,
And askt a sight of her faire Archerie;
W^ch^ when he handl'd, and did well behold
The bewtie of her shafte, fordg'd all of gold,
Hee askt them of her: shee excusde, and said
Shee had no other riches, yett obaide;
And (with intention to make a kiss
Good as her arrowe) those delights of his

Offer'd to stake against one, and to plaie
A game att chesse for all. He tooke the laie,
Went in and wunne, and wrapt them in embraces;
And now Love's shaftes are headed w^th^ his graces.

Agl. Hee pluckt his winges, too, some reportes presume.

Bew. Hee did, and beares them in a triple plume.

Agl. Sweete Goddesse, lett your musique sound, and sing
Him and his traine forth.

Bew. Sett vp everie string,
And euerie voice make like a trumpett ring.

Here the Second Song, calling the Masquers to their Dance. After w^ch^ they dance their Entrie: which done, AGLAIA *speakes.*

Agl. These are no Moneths, but that celestial seede
Of men's good angells, that are said to breede
In blessed iles about this Britane shore;
That heighten spirittes bred here, with much more
Then humane virtues.

Bew. Gravest authors saye
That there such angells dwell; and these are they.

Agl. O! how they move nowe, while they rest; but moving,
Ravishe beholders, and cause more then loving:
Commaund Heaven's harmony in numerous ayer,
To sacrifice to their divine repaire,
And make them move in all their pompe again.

Bew. What shall we offer to his wisedome, then,
By whome these move and be? for whose worth all
These wonders in those Iles angelicall,
Are sett in circle of his charm'd commaund,
Wall'd with the wallowing ocean? And whose hand,
Charming all warre from his milde monarchie,
Tunes all his deepes in dreadfull harmonie.

Agl. Not harmonie of tunes alone, but heartes,
Set to his love, sung in a world of partes.

Here the third Song, beginning thus: Proceede with your, &c. After wᶜʰ they dance their mayne dance; wᶜʰ done, BEWTY *invites them to dance with the Ladies.*

Bew. Nowe double all that hath bin pleasing,
On Pleasure's cheife deservers seasing.
No pleasure is exactlie sweete,
Till ladies make their circles meete.

After this, the fourth Song: See, See, &c.; wᶜʰ done, they dance with the Ladies, and the whole Revells followe. At end whereof, BEWTY *speakes.*

Enter MADG HOWLET, *hooting, going vp towards yᵉ King. After whome follows* PIGGWIGGEN, *a Fairy, calling to her.*

Pig. You, myne hostesse of the Ivie bushe! What make ye hooting in theis walkes?

How. What? Lady Piggwiggin, th' only snoutfaire of the fairies. A my word, hadst thou not spoken like a maid, I had snatcht thee vp for a mouse. O! a good fatt mouse were an excellent rere banquet this midnight, specially a citty mouse; yoʳ contry mouse is not worth yᵉ fleying.

Pig. Why, knowst thou where thou art, Madge?

How. In a good Yeoman's barne, I thinke; for I am sure that from hence flowes all the barnes breade of the kingdome. But what wynde brings thee hether?

Pig. I am comaunded by our fairy Queene, that rules in night, now to attend her charge that night and daie rules, being the great enchantresse, imperiouse Bewty, who in her charmed fort sittes close hereby, enthron'd, and raignes this night great President of all those princely revells that in yᵉ honor of our fairy king are here to be presented, to whose state her highnes hath design'd theis silent houres,

Commaunding Musique from ech moving sphere,
And silence from eche mover seated here.

How. Nay, then, Pigg, I must tell yowʷ yowʷ usurp my

naturall office: Night's all taming silence is my charge to proclaime, being Night's cheife herauld; and at this howre, when Heauen had clos'd his eye, I open myne, and through y^e^ silken ayre wing all my softer feathers, summoning all earth's sweete ladyes to their sweetest rest, or to their sweeter labors. Evry night make I attendance on this blessed bowre,

Where Majestie and Love are mett in one,
All harmfull spirritts frighting from his throne,

And keeping watch y^t^ noe ill-looking plannet fasten his beames here; all ill-looking commettes (in all their influences so much feared)

Converting into good and golden dewes,
That peace and plenty through y^e^ land diffuse.

Pig. What! turn'd poet, Madge?

How. I, Pigg: I hope I have not harbord so long in an ivie bush, but I can play the poet for a neede.

Pig. Meaning a needy poet.

How. Faith, needy we are all, Pig; and all for the needlesnes of so many.

But this all equal knowledge hath decreed,
Neede is no vice, since vices have no need.

Pig. Sententious and satyricall! Who would beleeve dull Madge were so sharpe a singer?

How. What, not the bird of Pallas? Knowe thou, Pig,
I have sung w^th^ the Nightingall, and obtain'd
The prise from her in judgment of the best eares.

Pig. True; if y^e^ biggest be best; for the asse was yo^r^ judge.

How. No matter who be a judge, so hee beares upright eares betwixt partie and partie. But if my song should not prove pleasing to lords, I hope yet ladies would a little beare w^th^ mee for kindred sake.

Pig. Kindred, Madge? By what clame comes that in? Methinkes there's little resemblance betwixt them and thee.

Madg. Tis true, that fewe of them resemble mee favor, but in quallitie wee are a kinne.

Pig. As howe, Madge?

Madg. Why, one point is, that they commonly love to be chatting, when all else are silent, w^h^ is property borrowed from mee; for my tongue is still walking, when all else are tonge-tyde.

Pig. Thats something agreeable.

Madg. Another is, that ladies take more pleasure in night then daie; and so doe I. Only we differ in this; they keepe house all night, and fly out ith' day.

Pig. Then be it thie heraldric to call them home nowe, and proclaime their silence.

Madg. Nay, lett them alone for silence: when they come home, they'le keepe councell in their own causes as well as men.

Pig. Proclaime their attendence, then, and attention to Bewty. Make a noise.

How. Oyes!

Pig. All manner of ladies. *Ma.* All &c.

Pig. Cittie or countrey, *Ma.* Citty &c.

Pig. That either are, or would be, of Bewties traine, *Ma.* That &c.

Pig. Make ready to be observ'd, *Ma.* Make &c.

Pig. In all the newest fashons *Ma.* In all &c.

Pig. They can possibly gett for loue or mony. *Ma.* They &c.

Pig. What cost soever is spard *Ma.* What &c.

Pig. Shalbe defalkt out of their contentment. *Ma.* Shalbe &c.

Pig. If their husbandes be in fault, *Ma.* If &c.

Pig. They shall punish them at their pleasure. *Ma.* They &c.

Pig. If their lovers, they shall change at pleasure. *Ma.* If &c.

Pig. And further it is provided, *Ma.* And &c.
Pig. That if any lady loose her jewell, *Ma.* That &c.
Pig. If it cannot be restored, *Ma.* If &c.
Pig. Shee shall have the vallue of it given her.
Ma. Shee &c.
Pig. Out of Bewties privy purse. *Ma.* Out of &c.
Pig. And Jove save our soueraigne. *Ma.* And &c.

Pig. See nowe, the scane opens, and the twelve Spheres descend to call Bewty from her forte, the Hearte.

Ma. Lett us be gone, then, and performe the rest
Of our observance in some seate unseene.
Ile flutter upp, and take my perche upon
Some citty head-attire, and looke through that
(Buzzelld wth bone lace) like myselfe in state.
Doe thou transforme thie selfe into a glowe-worm,
And twixt some ladies lovely brestes lye shining,
Like to a crisolite, till, in the end,
With some Good Night wee both againe attend.

Pig. Agreed.

[*Exeunt.*

Bew. Nowe, Somnus, open thie Ambrosian gates,
Usherd wth all Athenias birdes and battes,
And (crown'd with poppey) rule and bound y^{e} knees
Of these thus spritelie principalities:
Concluding all in as much golden rest,
As all their motions have been prais'd and blest.

After this, Somnus *is seene hovering in y^{e} ayre, and sings the last song. Retire, &c. W^{ch} done, they dance their going off, and conclude.*

1 Song.

Grace of Earth and Heaven appeare!
Feare to trust a human forte:
Bewty, so divinelie cleare,
Must not be conceald in Courte.

If ever you your selfe affected,
Showe here your light, or live neglected.
Chor. Pulses, you that guard her lighte,
Borne to rest nor daie nor night,
Dead slumber must not thus enthrall:
Wake, and with a lowde alarme,
Serve our Conqueror of Charms,
And for him breake your Hearte and all.
Cho. Breake, Hearte, for feare to holde a forte
Against the kingdome of a Courte.

2 Song.

Shine out, faire Sunns, with all your heate,
Showe all your thousand colour'd lighte;
Black Winter freezes to his seate;
The graie wullff howles, he does so bite;
Crookt Age on three knees creepes the streete;
The bonelesse Fish close quaking lies,
And eates for colde his aking feete;
The Starrs in isickles arise.
Cho. Shine out, and make this winter nighte
Our Bewties Spring, our Prince of Lighte.

Here they come forth, and dance their entrie. After w^ch^, Bewtie *speakes a little; and* Harmony *comaundes this* 3^d^ *Song.*

3 Song.

Proceede with your divine delighte,
Even till it reach meridian height;
Exceede the Sunne in your advances,
Who onlie at his rising dances.
Quicke offerings still to our Apollo give;
In whose creating beames yee shine and live.

4 Song.

See, see, howe Beauties summer glowes,
Incenst to make her solstice here,
Where all the motions of the yeare
To all the Graces paie their vowes.
Cho. Whie rest these breathing Plannetts, then?
These moulds of Life? these orbs of Men?
Since here (it seemes) they passe for neither.
Elsewhere, life's joies are fors't and laide
Still on y^e^ racke.
Or else, are like the inconstant wether,
Wings without bodies, never staide,
But in their lacke.
But here they flowe, and staie and sitt,
For worthie choices free and fitt.
Chuse, chuse! these joies [not] seas'd in tyme will flitt.

Song.

Retire! Rest calls ye to retreate;
Late watchings waste the vitall heate,
Though spent in sports, that nectar sweate.
Retire; and lett these numberd pleasures
Teach youth and state to tread the measures;
And spare, still in the middst their treasures.
Retire; though in your princely blood
Each spirrit for Somnus is too good.
Yett come: bathe in his golden flood,
Where true dreames shall employ yo^r^ breath,
And teach you howe to wake in Death.

FINIS.

MASK OF THE FOUR SEASONS.

GENIUS, *or the Countryes better Angell, wrapt in amazement at some happy changes he observes in his Soyle and Clymate, begins the entertainment w^th^ his first Entry.*

GENIUS.

What mean these præparations in y^e^ ayre,
proclaimeing some great welcome? all soe fayre,
the dogstar bites not! and the parching heat
that lately chapt our feilds, sweet showres, that beat
on the earth's teeming bosome, have allay'd:
the earth in robes of a new Spring arayde,
seems proude of some late gueste: the days are clear
as had tyme, from all seasons of y^e^ year,
extracted forth theyr quintessence. In mee,
this countryes Genius, the sweet harmony
of all the elements (that have conspir'd
to blesse our soyle and clymate) hath inspir'd
a fresher soule. But soft! what doo I see?
Beuty join'd hand in hand with Majesty?
Mars and y^e^ Queen of Love? Sure, tis not they.
I see noe wanton glances, but a raye
like bright Diana's smiles; and in his face
a grave aspect, like Jove's, taking his place
amidst heavns counsellors: nor are those twayn
yonge Cupids: they have eys, and I in vayne
guesse at yon fresher beauty then ye Spring,
or smooth-fac't Hebe. Let sweet Orpheus sing

unto his well tun'd lyre, y^t^ they may see
they're truly welcome here, whoe ere they bee.

ORPHEUS *enters w^th^ this Song.*

Canst thou in judgment bee soe slow,
as those ritch beautyes not to know?
look on those eys, and sure theyr shine
will give more clearnes unto thine.

These, the fayr causes of our mirth,
shall in esteem our barren earth
equall with theyrs, whose lofty eys,
our higher mountaines heer despise.

See how the heavnes smile on our land,
and plenty stretch her opened hand,
enritching us w^th^ hearts content,
civility and government.

Wee in our country, that in us,
both happy are, and prosperous;
and of our youth noe more made poore,
shall find y^e^ Court ev'n at our dore.

GENIUS.

I'me sung into my sences, but nought might,
like Majesty or Beuty, dazle sight:
bee that my just excuse. Now let mee show
what welcome for my country's sake I owe
to these her blessings. Backward shall y^e^ year
runne in his course; y^e^ Seasons shall apear
each w^th^ theyr proper dantyes; Winter shall,
as for his age preferd, bring first of all
his full, though grosser dishes; let them be
th'expression of our entertainement, free,

though not soe fine. Yet thus much lett mee say,
there is noe danger in them, but you may
feareles tast where you please, they're all our own;
noe dish whose tast or dressing is unknown
unto our natives: neighbouring mountains yeald
us goats, and in y^e^ next adjoining feilds
pasture our muttons: if there bee a buck
turnd into venison, that was likewise struck
on our owne lawnes: of whatsoere is more,
wee serve in noe strange dish, but [our] owne store.

This speech ended, WINTER *ushers in y^e^ first course, w^ch^ having ordered upon y^e^ table, turnes to y^e^ Company.*

WINTER.

Not to detaine you longer from your fare,
to tell you more then welcome, welcome y'are:
welcome, with all my hart. More can't be spoak;
a fuller word then welcome is would choak.
[*An old man: if you hear*
more, hear grace.[1]

The first Course taken away, ORPHEUS *ushers* AUTUMNE, *with the second: hee presents a bakemeat in one hand, and wyne in y^e^ other, being y^e^ fruits of Ceres and Bacchus, properly belonging to* AUTUMNE, *in whose name* ORPHEUS *sings.*

Your beautyes, ladyes, far more bright
and sweet then Phœbus clearest light,
have sooner far fetcht Autumne heer
then all his smiles throughout y^e^ year.
Though w^th^ his rayes
and fayrest days,
and w^th^ serenest view,
hee courts mee heer,

[1] This is inserted as a stage-direction in the MS.; but it seems a sort of prose conclusion to the speech of Winter, who, we may suppose, says grace before the King, Queen, &c., begin the feast.

yet I appear,
but to attend on you.

And, being come, I hold it scorne
to welcome you w^th^ meer bare corne;
here's Ceres in a new attire,
and ripned w^th^ a second fire.
Cut up and find
how shee is lind;
for to entertaine you
here's Bacchus blood,
to digest your food;
why then, doe not refraine you.

[*Exeunt.*

The second Course taken away, ORPHEUS *enters again, bringing in Summer, and the frutes of her Season, w^th^ this Song.*

Summer was offring sacrifice
unto y^e^ Sunne, but from your eys
perceiving far a clearer light,
ladyes, hee gives them to your sight;
and ritcher paiment doth hee find
from your breaths then the Southern wind.

As Autumnes clusters ripned bee
by neighbouring grapes maturity,
soe from your lips his cherryes, heer,
take sweetnes, and theyr colour clear.
Noe marvell, then, y^t^ as your due
they thus present themselves to you:
all other fruites his season yealde[s]
are yours, himself, his trees, his feilds.

[*Exeunt.*

The last of ORPHEUS *songs is in y^e^ person of y^e^ Spring, whoe brings in y^e^ bason and ewer.*

The nightingale, y^e^ larke, y^e^ thrush doe sing,
and all to welcome in y^e^ Spring.

The warme blood in y^e^ veynes
doth hop about and dance,
and new life's in evry thing.

The yong men they doe likewise court theyr lovers,
whilst them theyr lusty warme blood mooves;
but unto you y^e^ Spring
doth [raise] her voyce and sing,
and her self your lover prooves.

Shee not presents you heer w^th^ simple flowres,
but with sweet distilled showres:
theyr very quintessence,
most pleasing to y^e^ sence,
extracted from them forth shee powres.

Add sweet to sweet, and wash your lilly hands:
The Spring shall be at your commands.
Nought could have brought back heer
y^e^ Spring tide [of] y^e^ year,
Save you, fayr blessings of our land,
To whom thus w^th^ a wish shee bids Adieu.
Spring, youth, and beuty, still attend on you.

[*Exeunt.*

After supper is ended, and y^e^ tables taken away, Enters

GENIUS.

Heres not enough of mirth. I warne t'appear
Once more the Seasons of y^e^ year.
Let musique strike, and you shall see
old Winters full of jollity:
Autumne is Bacchus darling, and
soe joyd, perchance hee can not stand:
the other livelyer Seasons shall,
show[1] you theyr pastimes festivall,

[1] Miswritten *So* in the MS.

how usually they doe themselves bestirre
on May day, and the feast of Midsommer.

This Speech ended, enter WINTER.

Winter is old, yet would he fain
this fayr assembly entertain
to his best powre; but should he try,
he feares it were not worth your ey.
His cold stiffe limbs are most unfit,
although his heart be merry yet,
his long nights jovially to spend
with cups and tales to pleas his friend.
Let not your expectations runne
further; his dancing days are done:
yet if hee soe may satisfie,
by some quicke yongster to supply
his place, hee Christmas Gamboles pickes,
to entertain you wth his trickes.

1. *Then enters* GAMBOLES, *dancing a single Anticke wth a forme.*
2. *After him,* AUTUMNE *brings in his Anticke of drunkards.*
3. SUMMER *followes, wth a country dance of heymakers or reapers.*
4. *The last is a morrice dance, brought in by y^{e}* SPRING.

These ended, Enter GENIUS, *wth Epilogue.*

If these our pastimes pleas, I've yet one more
that freely doth present you all her store:
Night gives her howres; part them, as you think best,
between your recreation and your rest.

FINIS.

NOTES

OF

BEN JONSON'S CONVERSATIONS

WITH

WILLIAM DRUMMOND

OF HAWTHORNDEN.

JANUARY, M.DC.XIX.

Then will I dress once more the faded bower,
Where JONSON sat in DRUMMOND'S classic shade.
COLLINS.

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1842.

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PREFACE.

Few documents connected with literary history have recently occasioned greater, and, at the same time, more useless and unprofitable controversy, than Drummond of Hawthornden's Notes of Conversations with Ben Jonson. In submitting to the Members of the Shakespeare Society, for the first time in a substantive form, what is presumed to be a full and genuine copy of Drummond's manuscript, it may be necessary to prefix a few remarks on two points. The first is, in regard to the purpose of Jonson's Visit to Scotland; the second, as to the imputations that have been liberally bestowed on the Poet of Hawthornden, in connection with these Notes of Conversations, by inquiring whether they are well founded, and to what extent.

It is, perhaps, vain to inquire what motives induced the great English dramatist to undertake, as it was then viewed, a long and toilsome journey. The editor of Drummond's Works, in 1711, asserts, indeed, that Jonson "came down to Scotland on foot, in the year 1619, on purpose to visit him [Drummond], and stayed some three or four weeks with him at Hawthornden." This statement has been currently repeated for more than a

century. It is, however, apparently nothing but a gratuitous assumption, there being no kind of evidence to shew that any acquaintance existed betwixt the two poets till some months after Jonson had reached Edinburgh. That he was induced to visit Scotland by any supposed admiration of Drummond's genius, may be safely denied, judging from what he himself records of Jonson's "censure of my verses," that "they smelled too much of the schools," and that, *merely to please the King*, he wished he had been the author of Forth Feasting, a congratulatory poem, written by Drummond on occasion of King James's visit to his native kingdom in May 1617.

Jonson, when he commenced his journey, was well advanced in life, having reached the forty-fifth year of his age. He was at the time in special favour at the English court; and the desire of visiting some of his noble friends in the course of his travels may have strengthened his resolution to spend some time in what in one sense he might regard to be his native country, although Jonson could not have felt the same "salmon-like instinct" with his Royal master, (to use his own words) when he announced his long-deferred intentions to revisit Scotland, having "had (he says) these many years a great and naturall longing to see our native soyle and place of our birth and breeding." But "this desire of ours, proceeding from a naturall man," having been accomplished, it might possibly suggest to the English poet a similar journey during the year that followed the King's return. We know at least that, with that sturdy independence which marked his character,

Jonson set out with the resolution to walk all the way both going and returning. This must have been in the summer of 1618. John Taylor, "the Water-Poet," about the same time undertook what he termed his "Pennylesse Pilgrimage" to Scotland—in other words, that he should carry no money with him; and as Jonson, while in Scotland, was impressed with the belief that Taylor, who left London on the 14th of July 1618, and reached Edinburgh on the 13th of August, "had been sent hither to scorn him," this implies that he must have followed, not preceded, Jonson. But the Water-Poet, in 1623, published a rambling account, in verse and prose, of his "Pennylesse Pilgrimage," showing, "how he travailed on foot from London to Edenborough in Scotland, not carrying any money to or fro, neither begging, borrowing, or asking meate, drinke, or lodging," and he there indignantly repels the aspersion of his having been actuated by such a motive, and vows, "by the faith of a Christian," that the insinuations of "many shallow-brained criticks" were wholly unfounded. The address in which this is stated is too curious in itself not to be quoted at full length.

"*To all my Loving Adventurers, by what name or title soever, my Generall Salutation.*

"Reader, these Trauailes of mine into Scotland, were not undertaken, neither in imitation, or emulation of any man, but onely deuised by myselfe, on purpose to make triall of my friends, both in this Kingdome of England, and that of Scotland, and because I would be an eye-witnes of diuers things which I had heard of that Countrey; and whereas many shallow-brain'd Critickes, doe lay an aspersion on me, that I was set on by others, or that I did undergoe this project, either in malice or mockage of Master Benjamin Ionson,

I vow by the faith of a Christian, that their imaginations are all wide, for he is a Gentleman, to whom I am so much obliged for many undeserved courtesies that I haue receiued from him, and from others by his fauour, that I durst neuer to be so impudent or ungratefull, as either to suffer any man's perswasions, or mine own instigation, to incite me, to make so bad a requitall, for so much goodnesse formerly received. So much for that," &c.

After " five and thirty days hunting and travell " in the Highlands, Taylor came back to Edinburgh before the end of September; and he informs us—

" Now the day before I came from Edenborough [on his return to England] I went to Leeth, where I found my long approued and assured good friend Master Beniamin Iohnson, at one Master Iohn Stuarts house: I thanke him for his great kindnesse towards me; for at my taking leaue of him, he gaue me a piece of gold of two and twenty shillings to drink his health in England; and withall, willed me to remember his kind commendations to all his friends: So with a friendly farewell, I left him as well, as I hope neuer to see him in a worse estate: for he is amongst Noblemen and Gentlemen that knowe his true worth, and their owne honours, where, with much respectiue loue he is worthily entertained."[a]

Jonson remained at least four months longer in Scotland, no doubt residing in different parts of the country, with the noblemen and gentlemen to whom Taylor alludes. The precise time of Jonson's visit at Hawthornden is uncertain, and of no moment. But it was previous to the 17th of January, 1619, when Drummond sent him the following note.[b]

[a] " Workes of Iohn Taylor, the Water Poet," p. 138, London, 1630, folio. Taylor reached London on the 18th of October 1618. See an interesting account of his life and writings, in Mr. Southey's volume on Uneducated Poets.

[b] Drummond's Works, p. 234.

" *To his worthy friend Mr. Benjamin Johnson.*

" Sir,

" Here you have that Epigram which you desired, with another of the like argument. If there be any other thing in this Country, (unto which my power can reach) command it: there is nothing, I wish more, than to be in the Calendar of them who love you. I have heard from Court, that the late Mask was not so approued of the King as in former times, and that your absence was regretted: Such applause hath true worth, even of those who otherwise are not for it. Thus, to the next occasion, taking my leave, I remain

" Your loving friend

" January 17, 1619." [W. DRUMMOND.]

Two days later, on the 19th of January, the very day " when he took his departure," Jonson sent him the madrigal, " On a Lover's Dust, made sand for an hour-glass," (which will be found at p. 39) with this very flattering inscription :—

" TO THE HONOURING RESPECT,
BORN
TO THE FRIENDSHIP CONTRACTED WITH
THE RIGHT VIRTUOUS AND LEARNED
MR. WILLIAM DRUMMOND,
AND THE PERPETUATING THE SAME BY ALL OFFICES OF LOVE HEREAFTER,
I BENJAMIN JOHNSON,
WHOM HE HATH HONOURED WITH THE LEAVE TO BE CALLED HIS, HAVE WITH MINE OWN HAND, TO SATISFY HIS REQUEST, WRITTEN THIS IMPERFECT SONG."

Jonson reached London in April; and, on the 10th of May, addressed the following letter to Drummond.

"*To my worthy, honoured and beloved Friend Mr. William Drummond, Edinburgh.*[c]

"Most loving and beloved Sir,

"Against which titles I should most knowingly offend, if I made you not at length some account of myself, to come even with your friendship. I am arrived safely, with a most Catholick welcome, and my Reports not unacceptable to His Majesty. He professed (I thank God) some joy to see me, and is pleased to hear of the purpose of my Book: To which I most earnestly sollicit you for your promise of the Inscriptions at Pinky, some things concerning the Loch of Lomound, touching the Government of Edinburgh, to urge Mr. James Scot; and what else you can procure for me with all speed; Especially I make it my request, that you will enquire for me whether the Students method at St. Andrews be the same with that at Edinburgh, and so to assure me, or wherein they differ. Though these requests be full of trouble, I hope they shall neither burden nor weary such a Friendship, whose commands to me I will ever interpret a pleasure. News we have none here, but what is making against the Queen's Funeral, whereof I have somewhat in hand, which shall look upon you with the next. Salute the beloved Fentons, the Nisbets, the Scots, the Levingstons, and all the honest and honoured names with you; especially Mr. James Writh, his wife, your sister, &c. And if you forget yourself, you believe not in

"Your most true friend and lover

"Ben Johnson.

"London, 10th of May 1619."

Previous to this letter being received, Drummond had written a note to Jonson as follows, according to the first scroll of the letter still preserved :—

"Sir,

"Mr. Fenton shew mee a letter of yours, in which yee remember your freinds heere, but I am particularly beholden to you for your particular remembrance of mee. Other letters of yours I

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[c] Drummond's Works, page 154, Edinburgh, 1711, folio.

have not seene. The vncertaintye where to find you, hath made mee so negligent in writing. When I haue vnderstood of your being at London, I will not be so lazie. I haue sent you here the Oth of our Knights, as I had it from Drysdale, haralt, if there be anay other such pieces wherein I can serue you, yee haue but to aduertise mee. Many in this countrye of your friends have trauelled with you in their thoughts, and all in their good wishes place you well at home. What a losse were it to vs if ought should have befallen you but good. Because I doubte if these come vnto you, I shall commit you to the tuition of God, and remaines

"Your assured and louing freind,"

[William Drummond.]

In the Hawthornden MSS. there is also a corrected copy of this letter in Drummond's hand, which may be given, as it differs in a number of minute particulars:

"*To my good freind* Ben Jonson.

"Sir,—After euen a longing to heare of your happy journey, Mr. Fenton shew mee a letter from you, remembring all your freinds heere, and particularlie (such is your kyndnesse) mee. If euer prayers and good wishes could have made a voyage easie, your must have beene, for your acquaintance heere in their thoughts did trauelle along with you. The vncertaintye where to directe letters hath made mee this tyme by past not to write: when I vnderstand of your being at London I shall neuer (among my worthiest freinds) be forgetful of you. I have sent you the Oth of our Knights, as it was giuen mee by Harald Drysdale: If I can serue you in any other matter, yee shall find mee most willing. Thus wishing that the succesee of your fortunes may answer our desires, [be equall to your deserts,] I commite you to the tuition of God.

"Edenbrough, 30 of Aprile 1619."

Another letter from Drummond to Jonson, dated the 1st of July 1619, and the copy of "The Oath of a Knight," which accompanied it, were first printed among his Familiar Epistles, at the end of his History of Scot-

land, in 1655. These are here subjoined, as forming the entire correspondence that has been discovered to have passed between the two Poets.

"*To his worthye Freind M. Benjamin Johnson.*[d]

"Sir,

"The uncertaintie of your abod was a cause of my silence this tyme past: I have adventured this packet upon hopes that a man so famous can not be in any place either of the Cittye or Court where hee shall not be found out. In my last I sent you a Description of Lough-Lomound with a Map of Inch-merinoch, which maye by your booke be made most famous; with the form of the Governement of Edenbrough, and the Method of the Colleges of Scotland. For all Inscriptions I have beene curious to find out for you: The Impresa's and Emblems on a Bed of State, wrought and embrodered all with gold and silke by the late Queen Marie, Mother to our sacred Soverayne, which will embellish greatlie some pages of your Booke, and is worthy of remembrance. The first is the Loadstone turning towards the Pole; the word, Her Majesties name turned into an Anagram, MARIA STEUART, SA VERTU M'ATIRÈ, which is not much inferiour to VERITAS ARMATA. This hath reference to a Crucifixe, before which, with all her royal ornaments, she is humbled on her knees most livelie, with the word UNDIQUE. An Impresa of Marie of Lorraine, her Mother, a Phœnix in flames, the word, *En ma fin git mon commencement.* The Impresa of an Apple tree growing in a Thorn, the word, *Per vincula crescit.* The Impresa of Henry the Second the French King, a Crescent, the word, *Donnec totum impleat orbem.* The Impresa of King Francis the First, a Salamander crowned in the midst of flames, the word, *Nutrisco et extingo.* The Impresa of Godfrey of Bullogne, an Arrow passing throw three birds, the word, *Dederitve viam Casusve Deusve.* That of Mercurius charming Argos with his hundred eyes expressed by his Caduceus, two Flutes and a Peacock, the word, *Eloquium tot lumina clausit.* Two

[d] From Drummond's History, 1655, page 137, the first part collated with the original scroll preserved in the Hawthornden MSS., vol. ix.

women upon the wheels of Fortune, the one holding a launce the other a Cornucopia; which Impresa seemeth to glance at Queen Elizabeth and herself, the word, *Fortunæ Comites*. The Impresa of the Cardinal of Lorrain, her Uncle, a pyramid overgrown with Ivy, the vulgar word, *Te stante virebo;* A ship with her Mast broken and fallen in the Sea, the word *Nanquam nisi rectam*. This is for herself and her son, a big Lyon and a young whelp beside her, the word, *Unum quidem sed Leonem*. An Emblem of a Lyon taken in a net, and Hares wantonly passing over him, the word, *Et Lepores devicto insultant Leoni*. Cammomel in a garden, the word, *Fructus calcata dat amplos*. A Palm tree, the word, *Ponderibus virtus innata resistit*. A Bird in a cage and a Hawk flying above, with the word, *Il mal me preme et me spaventa peggio*. A Triangle with a Sun in the Middle of a Circle, the word, *Trino non convenit orbis*. A Porcupine amongst Sea rocks, the word, *Ne volutetur*. The Impresa of King Henry VIII., a Portcullis, the word, *Altera securitas*. The Impresa of the Duke of Savoy, the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, the word, *Fortitudo ejus Rhodum tenuit*: He had kept the Isle of Rhodes. Flourishes of Arms, as Helms, Launces, Corslets, Pikes, Muskets, Cannons and the word, *Dabit Deus his quoque finem*. A Tree planted in a Church-yard environed with dead mens bones, the word, *Pietas revocabit ab Orco*. Eclipses of the Sun and the Moon, the word, *Ipsa sibi lumen quod invidet aufert;* glancing, as may appear at Queen Elizabeth. Brennus's ballances, a Sword cast in to weigh Gold, the word, *Quid nisi victis dolor?* A Vine tree watred with wine, which, instead of making it spring and grow, maketh it fade, the word, *Mea sic mihi prosunt*. A Wheel rolled from a mountain into the Sea, *Piena di dolor voda de Speranza*, which appeareth to be her own, and it should be, *Precipitio senza speranza*. A heap of wings and feathers dispersed, the word, *Magnatum vicinitas*. A Trophie upon a tree, with mytres, crowns, hats, masks, swords, books, and a Woman with a vail about her eyes or muffled, pointing to some about her, with this word, *Ut casus dederit*. Three Crowns, two opposite, and another above in the Sky, the word, *Aliamque moratur*. The Sun in an eclipse, the word, *Medio occidit die*.

"I omit the Arms of Scotland, England and France severally by

themselves, and all quartered in many places of this Bed. The workmanship is curiously done, and above all value; and truly it may be of this piece said *Materiam superabat opus.*

"I have sent you (as you desired) the Oath which the old valiant Knights of Scotland gave, when they received the order of Knighthood, which was done with great solemnity and magnificence.

"W. DRUMMOND.

"July 1st 1619."

"THE OATH OF A KNIGHT.

"I shall fortifie and defend the true holy Catholique and Christian Religion presently professed, at all my power.

"I shall be loyal and true to my Soveraign Lord the King his Majesty, and do honour and reverence to all Orders of Chevalrie, and to the noble office of Arms.

"I shall fortifie and defend Justice to the uttermost of my power, but feed or favour.

"I shall never flie from the King's Majesty my Lord and Master, or his Lieutenant in time of battel or medly with dishonour.

"I shall defend my native country from all aliens and strangers at all my power.

"I shall maintain and defend the honest Adoes and Quarrels of all Ladies of Honour, Widows, Orphans, and Maids of good Fame.

"I shall do diligence, wherever I hear tell there is any Traytours, Murtherers, Rovers, and Masterfull Theeves and Outlaws, that suppress the Poor, to bring them to the Law at all my power.

"I shall maintain and defend the Noble and gallant state of Chevalrie with Horses, Harnesses, and other Knightly Apparel to my power.

"I shall be diligent to enquire and seek to haue the knowledge of all Articles and points touching or concerning my duty contained in the Book of Chevalrie.

"All and sundry the premisses I oblige me to keep and fulfil, so help me God by my own hand, and by God himself."

Jonson, it appears, had written a work describing his journey to Scotland; but this was unfortunately destroyed in the fire which consumed several of his other

papers, (probably in 1629), as commemorated by himself in his "Execration upon Vulcan." In his masque of "News from the Moon," presented at court in the January 6th and February 11th, 1620-21, he thus alludes to his Northern journey:

"*P.* How might we do to see your Poet? Did he undertake this Journey, I pray you, to the Moon, on foot?

"*First Herald.* Why do you ask?

"*Printer.* Because one of our greatest Poets (I know not how good a one) went to Edinburgh on foot, and came back: Marry, he has been restive, they say, ever since; for we have had nothing from him; he has set out nothing, I am sure.

"*First Herald.* Like enough, perhaps he has not all in; when he has all in, he will set out I warrant you, at least those from whom he had it: It is the very same party that has been in the Moon now."

Jonson died at London on the 6th of August 1637, and Drummond survived to the 4th of December 1649.

In 1711, there was published at Edinburgh an edition of Drummond's works, both in prose and verse. His son, Sir William Drummond, who still survived, and had preserved his father's papers with religious care, communicated them to the editor of the volume, supposed to be Thomas Ruddiman the grammarian, or to Bishop Sage, who is said to have furnished the biographical account of the author, and the historical Introduction. Among those papers were the original Notes by Drummond of his Conversations with Ben Jonson. Unfortunately, as it has proved, the editor, instead of giving a correct copy of these Notes, or Informations, gave merely an abstract, which he entitled "Heads of a Conversation betwixt the famous Poet Ben Johnson, and William

Drummond of Hawthornden, January 1619," but which left it very doubtful what might be the precise extent and nature of the original. Unfortunately, also, this paper was occasionally employed to asperse Jonson's character, and some scurrilous additions were interpolated by the anonymous editor of Cibber's Lives of the Poets, the better to serve such a purpose.

That Drummond committed to writing such recollections of his conversations with a person of so much eminence as the English Dramatist, can excite no surprise: it is what hundreds of persons before his time and since have done with impunity in similar circumstances. That he was actuated by any unworthy motive, is neither confirmed by internal evidence, nor by any proper use that can be made of such notes. It is strange, however, to find a person of so much natural acuteness and sagacity as the editor of Massinger and Jonson, speaking of Drummond as "decoying Jonson under his roof," as "betraying the confidence of his guest," as "publishing his remarks and censures, without shame," and such like assertions. But it is necessary to hear the critic's own words:—

"It is not known (says Gifford) at what period, or in what manner, Jonson's acquaintance with Drummond began; but the ardour with which he cherished his friendship is almost unexampled; he seems, upon every occasion, to labour for language to express his grateful sense of it; and very depraved must have been the mind, that could witness such effusions of tenderness with a determination to watch the softest moment, and betray the confidence of his guest. For this perfidious purpose no one ever afforded greater facilities than Jonson. He *wore his heart upon his sleeve, for daws to peck at it:* a bird of prey, therefore, like Drummond, had a noble quarry before him; and he could strike at it without stooping.

"It is much to be lamented that our author did not fall into kindly hands. His learning, his judgment, his love of anecdote, his extensive acquaintance with the poets, statesmen, and eminent characters of the age, of whom he talked without reserve, would have rendered his conversations, had they been recorded with such a decent respect for the characters of the living as courtesy demanded, the most valuable body of contemporary criticism that had ever appeared. Such was not Drummond's object. He only sought to injure the man whom he had decoyed under his roof; and he, therefore, gave his remarks in rude and naked deformity. Even thus, however, without one qualifying word, without one introductory or explanatory line, there is little in them that can be disputed; while the vigour, perspicuity, and integrity of judgment which they uniformly display, are, certainly, worthy of commendation.

* * * * *

"Such are the remarks of Jonson on his contemporaries; set down in malice, abridged without judgment, and published without shame, what is there yet in them to justify the obloquy with which they are constantly assailed, or to support the malicious conclusions drawn from them by Drummond? Or who, that leaned with such confidence on the bosom of a beloved friend, who treacherously encouraged the credulous affection, would have passed the ordeal with more honour than Jonson.

* * * * * *

"As Ben Jonson (say the collectors of Drummond's works) has been very liberal of his censures (opinions) on all his contemporaries, so our author *does not spare him*.

"But Jonson's censures are merely critical, or, if the reader pleases, hypercritical; and, with the exception of Raleigh, who is simply charged with taking credit to himself for the labours of others, he belies no man's reputation, blasts no man's moral character, the apology for the slander of his host, therefore,

> —— who should against his murderer shut the door,
> Not bear the knife himself,

is weaker than water.

* * * * * *

"The words put into Drummond's mouth, do not, indeed, belong to him; of this, however, the critics, who trusted merely to Shiels, and quote a work which they never saw, were ignorant. No matter: there is still enough to justify the rhapsody on the 'sweets of friendship!' It must not be concealed, however, that there have been persons free enough to question the purity of Drummond's conduct, and that even the wretched scribbler who interpolated the passage, cannot avoid saying:—'We have inserted Ben's conversations, though, perhaps, it was not altogether fair of Mr. Drummond to commit to writing things that passed over a bottle, and which, perhaps, were heedlessly advanced. As few people are so wise as not to speak imprudently sometimes, it is not the part of a man who invites another to his table to expose what may drop inadvertently.' (Cibber's Lives, vol. i., p. 310.) This gentle reproof from Lauder the second, is extremely pleasant!—perhaps it was a *compunctious visiting*. Mr. A. Chalmers, too, has an awkward observation. Drummond's return, (he says) to the unreserved conduct of Jonson, 'has been thought *not very liberal*.' Is it possible! Fie, fie! 'Not *very* liberal!' To do Mr. Chalmers justice, he has no doubts of this kind himself; in tenderness, however, to those who have, he suggests, 'that this *suspicion* of *illiberality* is considerably lessened, when we reflect that Drummond appears not to have intended to publish his remarks,' &c. Mr. Chalmers never heard, perhaps, of a legacy of half-a-crown left to a hungry Scotsman, to fire off a pistol, which the ruffian who loaded and levelled it, had not the courage to discharge. At any rate, he seems to think that there is nothing unusual or improper in framing a libellous attack on the character and reputation of a friend, keeping it carefully in store for thirty years, and finally bequeathing it, fairly engrossed, to the caprice or cupidity of an executor."—(*Jonson's Works*, by Gifford, vol. i., pp. 116, 124, 126, 129.)

It is strange, I repeat, to find a man like Gifford making use of such language. From all this, and similar remarks obtruded in, and occurring in other parts of the work, one might suppose that no calumny would ever have assailed Jonson's memory, unless for

these unfortunate notes, committed to writing by Drummond, in January 1619. The only publication of them, in 1711, he terms "The costive and splenetic abridgement of his Conversations," (p. xxiii.) but, as Drummond obviously could not be charged with the abridgment, he elsewhere says, (p. cxxiv.) "It is observable that every addition by Drummond is tinctured with spleen," and exclaims, "*What a tissue of malevolence must the original record of those Conversations have been!*" Now, supposing all this to have been so, it may be asked, what reasonable motive can be assigned to have made Drummond feel any desire "to blazon Jonson's vices, and bequeath them to posterity?" If this question could be answered in any satisfactory manner, we might then inquire, what were the steps he took to accomplish this object? But no credible motive has, or can be, assigned: and Gifford knew well that during Jonson's life his intercourse with Drummond could not in the smallest degree have influenced his fate, or injured his reputation. He admits (vol. vi., p. 50) that this "gentleman, whose prudence was almost equal to his malignity, kept this libel to himself, at least while the poet lived." But he likewise knew that if Drummond was deterred, during a period of eighteen years, in the life-time of the English poet by the dread of retaliation, he, nevertheless, allowed the other twelve years that he survived Jonson to pass away without employing his notes, or "libel," for any such purpose. This was, undoubtedly, a very unusual mode for any person to take who is alleged to have harboured such malice. As to what Mr. Gifford chooses to insinuate of Drummond

having bequeathed his papers "fairly engrossed," and of the half-crown legacy, such insinuations betray a mean and vindictive spirit, to which silent contempt is the most fitting reply.

Whether the estimate which Drummond was led to form of Jonson's private character be harsh and unfounded, is quite a different matter. This remains for a dispassionate biographer to investigate. Here it may be sufficient to show that "the original record," as now published, is genuine, although the autograph copy is not known to exist. Sir William Drummond of Hawthornden, the poet's son, died in 1713, (two years after the publication of his father's works,) in the seventy-seventh year of his age. None of his immediate successors seem to have inherited a literary disposition; and little or no care was, probably, taken of the poet's books and papers, and many of them, there is reason to believe, were destroyed through sheer neglect. At length, in November 1782, the Reverend Dr. Abernethy Drummond (who had assumed the name on his marriage, in 1760, with the heiress of Hawthornden, Sir William Drummond's grand daughter) presented a large mass of papers, chiefly in the hand-writing of the poet, to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. This we learn from the following announcement, made by the Earl of Buchan, at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society on the 14th of November, 1782: "From the Rev. Dr. Abernethy Drummond we have lately received the whole manuscripts of the celebrated historian and poet, William Drummond of Hawthornden, consisting of thirteen volumes; which donation, so generously bestowed, will,

I hope, be exemplary, and productive of similar exertions in favour of the Republic of Letters, through the channel of the Society."—"The gift of Doctor Abernethy Drummond (his Lordship continues) being immediately on our table, and recently presented with peculiar generosity, has forced me to report it as part of the ordinary business of the day." — (*Minutes of the Society*, vol. i., p. 268.)

These MSS. were said to consist of thirteen volumes; but the bulk of the papers remained unbound and unarranged for upwards of forty years; no inventory or list of their contents appears to have been made; and a belief prevailed that either from accident or design many of the more interesting autographs were lost. After careful investigation, I am persuaded that such a notion was unfounded; and it is just as likely that a portion of the letters and papers made use of by the editor of Drummond's Works, in 1711, had never been returned to Hawthornden; or it may be that some of them may still remain among the family papers. Having already, in the fourth volume of the "Archæologia Scotica," given a pretty copious account of the Hawthornden Manuscripts in the possession of the Antiquarian Society, it is not necessary in this place to say further, than that the original Notes of Conversations, and the autographs of the various original letters addressed to Drummond that were published in 1711, form no part of these manuscripts; and thus it seemed most probable that we never should be able to ascertain the actual form in which Drummond committed to writing his record of Ben Jonson's Conversations.

At a later period, while examining some of the manuscript collections of Sir Robert Sibbald, a well-known antiquary and physician in Edinburgh, I was agreeably surprised to find in a volume of "Adversaria," what bears very evident marks of being a literal transcript of Drummond's original Notes. The volume has no date, but was probably anterior to 1710, when Sibbald was in his seventieth year. It is transcribed with his own hand; and the volume containing it was purchased after his death, with the rest of his MSS., for the Faculty of Advocates, in 1723. He might either have been a personal acquaintance of Sir William Drummond, or have obtained the use of the original papers through his friend Bishop Sage, who contributed to the publication of Drummond's Works in 1711. At all events, Sir Robert Sibbald was merely an industrious antiquary, and with considerable learning and unwearied assiduity, no doubt copied these Notes on account of the literary information they contained; while his character is a sufficient warrant for the literal accuracy of his transcript. Conceiving it, therefore, to be a literary document of considerable interest, after communicating it to Sir Walter Scott, and other gentlemen well qualified to judge of its genuineness — and no doubt has ever been expressed on this head — it was communicated to a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, and printed in the "Archæologia Scotica," as a sequel to the Account of the Hawthornden Manuscripts.

The Transactions that contain the communications alluded to, having had but a very limited circulation, and being almost wholly unknown in England, it was

thought the Notes of Jonson's Conversations might prove a suitable republication for the members of the Shakespeare Society. For this purpose, the foot notes, illustrating some of the concise or obscure allusions, have been amplified and corrected, by the kind and efficient aid of my excellent friends, Mr. J. PAYNE COLLIER, and Mr. PETER CUNNINGHAM; the text has been compared carefully with the manuscript, and it is hopedthis work, in its present form, may serve the purpose at once of freeing the memory of Drummond from unjust aspersions of treachery and want of good faith; and of furnishing additional facts, in the most authentic form, of the life and manners of one of England's greatest dramatic writers.

Brief and meagre as these Notes of Conversations are, they furnish us, in fact, with the only satisfactory evidence respecting the parentage, education, and early life of the English poet; they explain many obscure allusions in regard to his employments, such as his visit to Paris in 1613, in the capacity of tutor to a son of Sir Walter Raleigh; and, if they bear testimony to Jonson's occasional arrogance and boasting, they exhibit him also in a more favourable aspect, as of a warm-hearted kindly disposition, easily offended, it is true, but as easily appeased. Without enlarging, however, on the views they give of his own personal character, we could have wished that Jonson had proved more communicative, or Drummond been more curious in inquiring into the personal history of those master-spirits, whose writings have shed so much lustre over that age. But, either Drummond was more disposed to hear of those

poets, who, like himself, were writers of sonnets, madrigals, and courtly compliments, or Jonson, with a natural degree of vanity, was more accustomed to speak of the gay and high-born personages, for whom his Court Masques were written, than of those who, like himself, lived "by their wit." Still, even the casual glimpses and brief allusions to such men as Raleigh, Sidney, Bacon, Selden, Fletcher, Beaumont, and "the gentle" Spenser, have an indescribable charm; and, above all, the incidental mention of the name of Shakespeare fortunately contains nothing to justify the idle outcry of malignity and jealousy on the part of Jonson, or to call in question the sincerity of that affection, so beautifully expressed in his exquisite verses, "To the Memory of my beloved Master William Shakespeare, and what he hath left us," or in that touching passage of his "Discoveries," where he says, "I LOVED THE MAN, AND DO HONOUR HIS MEMORY, ON THIS SIDE IDOLATRY, AS MUCH AS ANY."

DAVID LAING.

SIGNET LIBRARY, EDINBURGH.

BEN JONSON'S CONVERSATIONS

WITH

WILLIAM DRUMMOND OF HAWTHORNDEN.

CERTAIN INFORMATIONS AND MANERS OF BEN JOHNSON'S TO W. DRUMMOND.[a]

I.

That he had ane intention to perfect ane Epick Poeme intitled Heroologia, of the Worthies of this Country rowsed by Fame; and was to dedicate it to his Country: it is all in couplets, for he detesteth all other rimes. Said he had written a Discourse of Poesie both against Campion and Daniel,[b]

[a] This title corresponds so far with a stray leaf in Vol. ix. of the Hawthornden MSS., and which, probably, was the envelope of the original: bearing, in the hand-writing of Drummond's son, these titles: [Certain] "Informations & Manners of Ben Jonson to W. D., 1619;" and "Informations be Ben Jonston to W. D., when he cam to Scotland upon foot, 1619." In Sibbald's transcript the same titles are thus repeated: "Informations be Ben Johnston to W. D., when he came to Scotland upon foot, 1619," and "Certain Informations and Manners of Ben Jonson's to W. Drummond;" preceded by another, (apparently interlined at a subsequent time, and no doubt his own invention) "Ben Ionsiana."

[b] Thomas Campion's "Observations in the Art of English Poesie" were first printed in 1602, and Daniel's answer in the same year. It was reprinted in 1603, with the following title: "A Defence of Ryme agaynst a pamphlet, entititled Observations in the Art of English Poesie; wherein is demonstratively proued that Ryme is the fittest harmonie of wordes that comportes with our language. By Sa: D. At London, 1603," 8vo. Both these pieces are reprinted in the late Mr. Haslewood's collection of "Ancient Critical Essays upon English Poets and Poesy." Vol. ii., London, 1815, 4to.

especially this last, wher he proves couplets to be the bravest sort of verses, especially when they are broken, like Hexameters; and that crosse rimes and stanzaes, (becaus the purpose would lead him beyond 8 lines to conclude) were all forced.

II.

He recommended to my reading Quintilian, (who he said would tell me the faults of my Verses as if he lived with me) and Horace, Plinius Secundus Epistles, Tacitus, Juvenall, Martiall; whose Epigrame *Vitam quæ faciunt beatiorem*, &c., he hath translated.[c]

III.

His censure of the English poets was this:

That Sidney did not keep a decorum in making every one speak as well as himself.

Spenser's stanzaes pleased him not, nor his matter;[d] the meaning of which Allegorie he had delivered in papers to Sir Walter Raughlie.

Samuel Daniel was a good honest man, had no children; but no poet.

That Michael Drayton's Polyolbion, if [he] had performed what he promised to writte (the deeds of all the Worthies) had been excellent: His long verses pleased him not.

That Silvester's translation of Du Bartas was not well done; and that he wrote his verses before it, ere he understood to conferr:[e] Nor that of Fairfax his.[f]

[c] See Mr. Collier's "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," (printed for the Shakespeare Society) p. 54, where this translation is inserted, from a copy in the hand-writing of Ben Jonson.

[d] Alluding, of course, to the Faerie Queene.

[e] That is, before Jonson understood French sufficiently to judge of the merits of Silvester's translation. Jonson's Epigram was prefixed to the 4to. edition of Du Bartas's "Weeks and Days," printed in the year 1605. (See note in Gifford's Ben Jonson, vol. viii., p. 239.)

[f] Alluding to Fairfax's beautiful version of Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*, first printed in the year 1600, folio. Jonson entertained particular notions

That the translations of Homer and Virgill in long Alexandrines were but prose.[g]

That [Sir] John Harington's Ariosto, under all translations, was the worst. That when Sir John Harrington desyred him to tell the truth of his Epigrames, he answered him, that he loved not the truth, for they were Narrations, and not Epigrames.[h]

That Warner, since the King's comming to England, had marred all his Albion's England.[i]

That Done's Anniversarie was profane and full of blasphemies: that he told Mr. Done, if it had been written of the Virgin Marie it had been something; to which he answered, that he described the Idea of a Woman, and not as she was. That Done, for not keeping of accent, deserved hanging.

That Shakspeer wanted arte.[j]

in regard to poetical translations, which led him to underrate some of those that still continue to be justly admired. Fairfax's *Jerusalem*, Mr. Campbell emphatically says, "was inscribed to Queen Elizabeth, and forms one of the glories of her reign."

[g] Referring, evidently, to Chapman's Homer's Iliad, and to Phaer and Twyne's Virgil. Chapman commenced his translation of Homer in 1598, in common heroic couplets, but afterwards altered it to verses of fourteen syllables.

[h] Ben Jonson published a Book of Epigrams, or, rather, Epistles. By an epigram, says Gifford, Jonson meant nothing more than a short poem, chiefly restricted to one idea. An epigram, in our modern acceptation, is a short poem, terminating in a point. But many of Jonson's epigrams, instead of being, (to use his own language)

bold, licentious, full of gall,
Wormwood, and sulphur, sharp, and tooth'd withal,

are mere harmless effusions. Jonson, however, had wormwood and sulphur for his verse, when he wished to be severe. We shall see that Jonson said Owen's epigrams were not epigrams, but narrations.—P. C.

Warner's poem, under the title of *Albion's England*, which had passed through several editions, the earliest in 1586, and of which "A Continuance" appeared in 1606.

In the printed selections, 1711, this remark is very improperly connected with Jonson's subsequent observation in regard to *The Win-*

That Sharpham, Day, Dicker, were all rogues ;[k] and that Minshew was one.[l]

That Abram Francis,[m] in his English Hexameters, was a foole.

That next himself, only Fletcher and Chapman could make a Mask.

IV.

HIS JUDGEMENT OF STRANGER POETS WAS:

That he thought not Bartas a Poet, but a Verser, because he wrote not fiction.

He cursed Petrarch for redacting verses to Sonnets; which he said were like that Tirrant's bed, wher some who where too short were racked, others too long cut short.

That Guarini, in his Pastor Fido, keept not decorum, in making Shepherds speek as well as himself could.

That Lucan, taken in parts, was good divided; read alto-gidder, merited not the name of a Poet.

ter's Tale, implying a general censure on all Shakespeare's works, as follows: — "He said, *Shakespear wanted Art, and sometimes Sense;* for, in one of his plays, he brought in a number of men, saying they had suffered Ship-wrack in Bohemia, where is no sea near by 100 miles."

[k] Edward Sharpham, a member of the Middle Temple, published *The Fleire*, a comedy, in 1610; and John Day wrote several plays, the titles of which will be found in the Biographia Dramatica. Thomas Dekker is a still more voluminous author, and his history is better known, partly in consequence of Ben Jonson's Poetaster, in which he has ridiculed Dekker, under the character of Demetrius, and Marston, under that of Crispinus: the former retorted upon Jonson as Young Horace, in his Satyro-Mastix, or the Untrussing a Humourous Poet, 1602.

[l] Minshew is chiefly known as the author of a Polyglot Dictionary, in eleven languages, published in 1617.

[m] For the titles of the several publications by Abraham Fraunce, see Ritson's Bibliographia Poetica, p. 211. George Peele, in the Order of the Garter, 1593, calls Fraunce "a peerless sweet translator of our time." (Works, by Dyce, vol. ii., p. 221, second edit.)

That Bonefonius Vigilium Veneris was excellent.[n]

That he told Cardinal de Perron, at his being in France, anno 1613, who shew him his translations of Virgill, that they were naught.

That the best pieces of Ronsard were his Odes.

All this was to no purpose, for he [*Jonson*] *neither doeth understand French nor Italiannes.*[o]

V.

He read his translation of that Ode of Horace, *Beatus ille qui procul negotiis, &c.*, and admired it. Of ane Epigrame of Petronius, *Fœda et brevis est Veneris voluptas;* concluding it was better to lie still and kisse . . .[p]

[n] Jean Bonnefons (Bonnefonius) was born about the middle of the sixteenth century, at Clermont, in Auvergne, where he cultivated Latin poetry with considerable success. He affected to imitate Catullus, though there was one whom he imitated more closely, viz., Johannes Secundus. Bonnefons died in 1614 (Gifford's *Ben Jonson*, vol. iii., p. 347.) Jonson was an admirer of Bonnefonius; his exquisite little song,

Still to be neat, still to be drest,

in "The Silent Woman," is from Bonnefonius, and is a happy pouring out of sentiment, from one language to another—a true translation.—P. C.

[o] These words are printed in italics, as they are evidently the expression of Drummond's own sentiments. Gifford quotes them, with this remark: "It is observable that every addition by Drummond is tinctured with spleen: what a tissue of malevolence must the original record of these conversations have been!" (Vol. i., p. cxxiv.) Had Mr. Gifford lived to see this "original record," as now published, he might, probably, have regretted the intemperate wrath he displayed against the Poet of Hawthornden, as there are so few instances of such "additions." Drummond's remark in this place must, however, be taken in a limited sense, as Jonson could not fail to understand both languages, which, in his day, were far more familiar to Englishmen than at present. But Drummond might only mean that Jonson was unable to comprehend the beauties of these languages.

[p] A word in the MS. at the end of this sentence is illegible. The fragment of Petronius Arbiter here referred to, was translated by Jonson, and printed among his Underwoods. (Works, vol. ix., p. 147.)

To me he read the preface of his Arte of Poesie, upon Horace ['s] Arte of Poesie, wher he heth ane Apologie[q] of a play of his, St. Bartholomee's Faire :[r] by Criticus is understood Done. Ther is ane Epigrame of Sir Edward Herbert's befor it: the [this] he said he had done in my Lord Aubanie's house ten yeers since, anno 1604.[s]

The most common place of his repetition was a Dialogue pastoral between a Shepherd and a Shepherdesse about sing-

[q] This translation of Horace's Art of Poetry, although one of Jonson's earliest works, was not printed till some years after his death. The preface alluded to was, probably, destroyed, along with the copious notes prepared to illustrate the translation, in the fire about 1623, which consumed so many of Jonson's papers. In the preface to his Sejanus, in 1605, he speaks of his Observations upon Horace his Art of Poetry, "which, (says he) with the text translated, I intend shortly to publish." The preface appears to have been in dialogue, and the friends of the poet introduced as speakers, under fictitious names—*Vide* p. 29. "He hath commented and translated Horace Art of Poesie: it is in dialogue wayes; by Criticus he understandeth Dr. Done." Dryden wrote his famous Essay on Dramatic Poesy, *dialogue ways* — and his friends are speakers under classic names. —P. C.

[r] The Comedy of Bartholomew Fair, although acted in 1614, is not included in the folio works, 1616, a circumstance which his late Editor cannot account for. As we here learn that it required an Apology, we may infer that it had given offence to the King, to whom we are told it had been dedicated, and, therefore, purposely omitted. That Bartholomew Fair was acted before the king, is proved by the prologue and epilogue. "It came out at the Hope Theatre, on the 31st of October, 1614, and was soon after performed at court, for I find, in an old roll of the Account of the Master of the Revels, from 1 November, 1614, to 31 October, 1615, now before me, the following item: — '*Canvas for the boothes and other neccies* [*necessaries*] *for a play called Bartholmewe faire,* xlj^{s}. vj^{d}.'" — P. C. See also the "Revels Accounts" (printed by the Shakespeare Society), by which we find that, on the 11th June, 1615, Nathaniel Field received £10 for Bartholomew Fair, performed at court on the 1st Nov., 1614.

[s] Sir Edward Herbert's epigram is among the commendatory verses, in the first volume of Gifford's edition of Jonson. There must be some mistake here, "ten years since," and the date 1604 will not agree with the period of Jonson's visit at Hawthornden.—P. C.

ing.[t] Another, Parabostes Pariane with his letter; that Epigrame of Gout; my Lady Bedfoord's bucke; his verses of drinking, *Drinke to me bot with thyne eyes; Swell me a Bowle*, &c. His verses of a Kisse,[u]

> Bot kisse me once and faith I will be gone;
> And I will touch as harmelesse as the bee
> That doeth but taste the flower and flee away.

That is, but half a one; what sould be done but once, should be done long.

He read a satyre of a Lady come from the Bath; Verses on the Pucelle of the Court, Mistriss Boulstred,[v] whose Epitaph Done made; a Satyre, telling there was no abuses to writte a satyre of, and [in] which he repeateth all the abuses in England and the World. He insisted in that of Martiall's *Vitam quæ faciunt beatiorem.*

VI.

His censure of my verses was:

That they were all good, especiallie my Epitaphe of the Prince, save that they smelled too much of the Schooles, and were not after the fancie of the tyme: for a child (sayes he) may writte after the fashion of the Greeks and Latine verses in running; yett that he wished, to please the King, that piece of Forth Feasting had been his owne.[w]

[t] Probably "The Musical Strife, a pastorall Dialogue."

[u] Most of these pieces are well known. "Swell me a bowl of lusty wine," a little ode, inserted in the Poetaster, was parodied by Decker. "Drink to me only with thine eyes," has always been a popular drinking song. For the lines of a Kisse, see Works, vol. viii., p. 312.

[v] An Epigram on the Court Pucelle will be found among his Works, vol. viii., p. 437. See, afterwards, page 38, where he says it had been stolen out of his pocket, and brought him into trouble. There are two elegies "on Mistris Boulstred," printed in Donne's Poems, pp. 253, and 258, edit. 1669, 8vo.

[w] Drummond's Teares on the Death of Meliades appeared in 1613; and his Forth Feasting, written on occasion of the King's visit to Scotland,

VII.

He esteemeth John Done the first poet in the world in some things: his verses of the Lost Chaine he heth by heart; and that passage of the Calme, *That dust and feathers doe not stirr, all was so quiet.* Affirmeth Done to have written all his best pieces ere he was 25 years old.

Sir Edward [Henry] Wotton's verses of a happie lyfe,[x] he hath by heart; and a peice of Chapman's translation of the 13 of the Iliads, which he thinketh well done.

That Done said to him, he wrott that Epitaph on Prince Henry, *Look to me, Faith*,[y] to match Sir Ed: Herbert in obscurenesse.

in 1617. The writer of an excellent article on Drummond's Poetry, in the Retrospective Review, in reference to the current, but unfounded tradition of Jonson's object in visiting Scotland, quotes the above words, and says, "Truly, if this be admiration enough for a pilgrimage, and by such a man as Jonson, there is much less enthusiasm wanting on such occasions, than we have heretofore imagined." (*Retr. Rev.*, vol. ix., p. 355.)

[x] The poem here mentioned, is "The Character of a Happy Life," by Sir Henry Wotton, and is so beautiful, that we may be excused quoting the first two and last verses.

How happy is he born and taught
That serveth not another's will?
Whose armour is his honest thought,
And simple truth his utmost skill?

Whose passions not his masters are,
Whose soul is still prepared for death;
Untied unto the World by care
Of publick fame, or private breath.

This Man is freed from servile bands,
Of hopes to rise, or fear to fall:
Lord of himself, though not of lands,
And having nothing, yet hath all.

See a copy of these verses, taken from the original in Ben Jonson's hand-writing, in Mr. Collier's "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," p. 53. They there vary materially from the copies as printed in the various editions of Wotton's Remains.

[y] Donne's Elegy on the Prince was first printed in 1613.

He hath by heart some verses of Spenser's Calender, about wyne, between Coline and Percye.

VIII.

The conceit of Done's Transformation, or Μετεμψυχώσις,[z] was, that he sought the soule of that aple which Eva pulled, and thereafter made it the soule of a bitch, then of a shee wolf, and so of a woman: his general purpose was to have brought in all the bodies of the Hereticks from the soule of Cain, and at last left it in the bodie of Calvin: Of this he never wrotte but one sheet, and now, since he was made Doctor, repenteth highlie, and seeketh to destroy all his poems.[a]

IX.

That Petronius, Plinius Secundus, Tacitus, spoke best Latine; that Quintiliane's 6. 7. 8. bookes were not only to be

[z] His "Metempsychosis, the Progress of the Soule," bears the date August 16, 1601, in the collection of his poems, p. 286. The fragment extends to fifty-two stanzas, of ten lines each. It may be added, that Donne appears to have still better claims than either Bishop Hall or Marston, to be considered the *first* English Satirist. In Drummond's transcript, Donne's Fourth Satire is dated "Anno, 1594," three years previous to the publication of Hall's. Mr. Collier, however, was the first to point out the priority in date of Donne's Satires. In the British Museum, among the Harleian MSS., (No. 5110) is a copy of Donne's three first satires, dated 1593, and headed, "Ihon Dunne, his Satires: Anno Domini 1593." Donne's fourth satire, according to Drummond's transcript, might be written in 1594. Dr. John Donne was born in 1573, and died the 31st of March, 1631.

[a] Donne's poems were not collected and published till after his death, in 1633. Izaac Walton says of him, that "the recreations of his youth were *Poetry*;" and "of those pieces which were facetiously composed, and carelessly scattered," most of them were written before the twentieth year of his age. He adds, "It is a truth, that in his penitential years, viewing some of those pieces too loosely scattered in his youth, he wish't they had been abortive, or so short-liv'd, that his own eyes had witnessed their funerals." The earliest of Donne's poems which appeared in print, was entitled, "An Anatomy of the World," which came out in 1611. (See the Cat. of the Bridgewater Library, p. 9) and was republished anonymously in 1612, 1621, and 1625.

read, but altogither digested. Juvenal, Perse, Horace, Martiall, for delight; and so was Pindar. For health, Hippocrates.

Of their Nation, Hooker's Ecclesiasticall historie (whose children are now beggars,[b]), for church matters. Selden's Titles of Honour, for Antiquities here; and ane book of the Gods of the Gentiles, whose names are in the Scripture, of Selden's.

Tacitus, he said, wrott the secrets of the Councill and Senate, as Suetonius did those of the Cabinet and Courte.

X.

For a Heroik poeme, he said, ther was no such ground as King Arthur's fiction; and that S. P. Sidney had ane intention to have transform'd all his Arcadia to the stories of King Arthure.[c]

XI.

His acquaintance and behaviour with poets living with him.

Daniel was at jealousies with him.[d]

Drayton feared him; and he esteemed not of him.

That Francis Beaumont loved too much himself and his own verses.

That Sir John Roe loved him; and when they two were ushered by my Lord Suffolk from a Mask, Roe wrott a moral

[b] See, however, the Appendix to Walton's Life of Hooker, edit. 1670. p. 113. He died Nov. 2, 1600, leaving four daughters, and a widow, who married again with such indecent haste, that she had not time enough to repent it; "for which (says Walton), doubtless, she would have found cause, if there had been but four months betwixt Mr. Hooker's and her death."

[c] Milton also intended Arthur for his subject; and Dryden gave the plan of an Epic poem on Arthur, in the preface to his translation of Juvenal, which Blackmore laid hold of, with what success the neglect of posterity is no doubt a just criterion.

[d] Jonson says (in a letter to the Countess of Rutland) that Daniel "envied him, though he bore no ill will on his part." (Vol. v., p. 251.)

Epistle to him, which began,[e] *That next to playes, the Court and the State were the best. God threateneth Kings, Kings Lords,* [*as*] *Lords do us.*

He beat Marston, and took his pistoll from him.

Sir W. Alexander[f] was not half kinde unto him, and neglected him, because a friend to Drayton.

That Sir R. Aiton[g] loved him dearly.

Nid Field[h] was his schollar, and he had read to him the Satyres of Horace, and some Epigrames of Martiall.

That Markam (who added his English Arcadia) was not of the number of the Faithfull, *i.* [*e.*] *Poets*, and but a base fellow.[i]

[e] The moral epistle "To Ben Johnson" here incorrectly quoted is dated 6 January, 1603, and is printed as a poem of Donne. (Edit. 1669, p. 197.) It begins:

> The State and men's affairs are the best playes
> Next yours.

Other instances of poems erroneously attributed to Donne might be pointed out. Thus, the one beginning *Deare Love, continue*, &c. (*Poems*, p. 59) is transcribed by Drummond, and signed "J. R.," probably the initials of John Roe.

[f] Sir William Alexander of Menstrie, author of the Four Monarchick Tragedies, printed between 1603, and 1607, and of various other poems. He was created Earl of Stirling by Charles the First.

[g] Sir Robert Aiton, of Kinaldie, in Fifeshire, was secretary to Anne of Denmark, wife of James the First. He was an elegant poet, and died in 1638. He lies interred in the south aisle of the choir in Westminster Abbey. See Smith's Iconographia Scotica, and the Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. i., pp. 299 to 324.

[h] Nathan Field, an actor and dramatic poet of some celebrity, performed, as one of the Children of the Chapel, a principal part in Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*, in 1600. (See *Biogr. Dram.* and Note in Weber's *Beaumont and Fletcher*, vol. i., p. xxvii.) Field was the author of two good comedies, inserted by Mr. Collier in a supplemental volume to Dodsley's Old Plays: one is entitled "A Woman is a Weathercock," printed in 1612, and the other "Amends for Ladies," which was twice printed, in 1618 and 1639.

[i] The explanatory word *Poets* was, probably, Drummond's addition. Gervase, or Jervis Markham, a poet, who wrote much, and little well — a sort of bookseller's hack. Markham stole Tofte's translation of Ariosto's Satires, and printed his own name boldly on the title-page. He was

That such were Day and Midleton.

That Chapman and Fletcher were loved of him.

Overbury was first his friend, then turn'd his mortall enimie.[j]

XII.

Particulars of the actions of other poets; and apothegmes.

That the Irish having rob'd Spenser's goods, and burnt his house and a litle child new born, he and his wyfe escaped;[k] and after, he died for lake of bread in King Street, and refused 20 pieces sent to him by my Lord of Essex, and said, He was sorrie he had no time to spend them. That in that paper S. W. Raughly had of the Allegories of his Fayrie Queen, by the Blating Beast the Puritans were understood, by the false Duessa the Q. of Scots.

guilty of nearly the same offence with a prose pamphlet by Barnabe Rich. Jonson rendered no injustice to him when he called Markham "a base fellow."—P. C.

[j] When the enmity between Ben Jonson and Sir Thomas Overbury began is nowhere stated; probably anterior to February, 1602-3, under which date we meet with the following in Manningham's Diary. (Harl. MSS. 5353.) "Ben Johnson, the Poet, now lives upon one Townesend and scornes the World. So Overbury." See Collier's *Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage*, i., 334.

[k] Edmund Spenser accompanied Arthur Lord Grey to Ireland as his Secretary, August 12, 1580; and was appointed Clerk in ChanceryMarch 22, 1581; but Lord Grey being recalled from his Irish goverument in 1582, Spenser returned with him to England. It has been nowhere stated that Spenser was ever in Scotland, and it is a mere conjecture that the poet was the person who is mentioned in the following postscript of a letter to Queen Elizabeth from James VI., dated St. Andrews, July 2, 1583 (in the King's own hand): "Madame I haue staied maister Spenser upon the lettr quhilk is uritten uith my auin hand, quhilk sall be readie uithin tua daies." (MS. Cotton. Calig., c. vii., f. 191.) By the "Revels' Accounts," published by the Shakespeare Society, it appears that Spenser had been employed to convey despatches from France as early as 1569; the same year in which his Sonnets in the translation of Vander Noodt's Theatre of Worldlings appeared. It is probable, therefore, that the date usually assigned of his birth is erroneous. Unfortunately, after his return to Ireland, he rendered

That Southwell was hanged;[1] yet so he had written that piece of his, the Burning Babe, he would have been content to destroy many of his.

himself obnoxious to the Irish by some proceedings in regard to the forfeited lands that had been assigned him. Various interesting particulars respecting the poet and his descendants are given by Mr. Hardiman in his *Irish Minstrelsy*, 1831, vol. i., p. 319 &c. Spenser died broken-hearted, and Phineas Fletcher, in his *Purple Island*, thus alludes to Lord Essex's having paid him attention at the time of his death.

> And had not that great Hart (whose honour'd head
> Ah lies full low) pitied thy woful plight,
> There hadst thou lien unwept, unburied,
> Unblest, nor graced with any common rite.

[1] Southwell entered the order of the Jesuits, and, having returned to England to convert his countrymen, was apprehended and executed at London in 1595. As the reader may have some curiosity to see a poem so much admired by Jonson, and not easily to be met with, it is here inserted from the edition of Southwell's Works, London, 1636, 12mo., sign. G 6.

> As I in hoarie Winters night
> Stood shivering in the snow,
> Surpriz'd I was with sudden heat,
> Which made my heart to glow;
> And lifting up a fearefull eye
> To view what fire was neere,
> A prettie Babe, all burning bright,
> Did in the aire appeare;
> Who, scorched with excessive heat,
> Such flouds of teares did shed,
> As though his flouds should quench his flames,
> Which with his teares were bred:
> Alas (quoth he) but newly borne,
> In fierie heats I frie,
> Yet none approach to warme their hearts
> Or feele my fire, but I;
> My faultlesse brest the furnace is,
> The fuell wounding thornes:
> Love is the fire, and sighs the smoke,
> The ashes shames and scornes;
> The fuell justice layeth on,
> And mercy blowes the coales,

Francis Beaumont died ere he was 30 years of age.[m]

Sir John Roe was ane infinit spender, and used to say, when he had no more to spende he could die. He died in his armes of the pest, and he [Jonson] furnished his charges 20 lb.; which was given him back.[n]

The metall in this furnace wrought
Are Mens defiled soules:
For which, as now on fire I am,
To worke them to their good,
So will I melt into a bath,
To wash them in my blood.
With this he vanisht out of sight,
And swiftly shrunke away,
And straight I called unto minde
That it was Christmasse Day.

[m] Beaumont died in the beginning of March, 1616, and was buried on the ninth of that month in Westminster Abbey. Jonson's lines, "How I do love thee, Beaumont, and thy Muse," evince his great regard for his young friend. But see his remark at p. 10.

[n] Jonson, in more than one copy of verses, embalmed Roe's memory, (See Jonson's Works by Gifford, vol. viii., pp. 165, 168, 196), and in particular in the following beautiful lines:

In place of Scutcheons that should deck thy herse,
Take better ornaments, my tears and verse.
If any sword could save from Fates, Roe's could;
If any muse outlive their spight, his can;
If any friend's tears could restore, his would;
If any pious life ere lifted man
To heaven,—his hath: O happy state! wherein
We, sad for him, may glory and not sin.

And again, "To the same."

I'll not offend thee with a vain tear more,
Glad-mention'd Roe; thou art but gone before,
Whither the World must follow: and I, now
Breathe to expect my When, and make my How.
Which if most gracious Heaven grant like thine,
Who wets my grave, can be no friend of mine.

Mr. Gifford supposes Sir John Roe, for whom Jonson had so much regard and esteem, to have been a son of Sir Thomas Roe, an eminent merchant of London.

That Drayton was chalenged for intitling one book Mortimeriados.[o]

That S. J. Davies played in ane Epigrame on Draton's, who, in a sonnet, concluded his Mistriss might been the Ninth[p] Worthy; and said, he used a phrase like Dametas in Arcadia, who said, For wit his Mistresse might be a gyant.

Done's grandfather, on the mother side, was Heywood the Epigramatist. That Done himself, for not being understood, would perish.

That Sir W. Raughley esteemed more of fame than conscience. The best wits of England were employed for making his Historie. Ben himself had written a piece to him of the Punick warre, which he altered and set in his booke.

S. W.[q] heth written the lyfe of Queen Elizabeth, of which ther is [are] copies extant.

Sir P. Sidney had translated some of the Psalmes, which went abroad under the name of the Countesse of Pembrock.[r]

[o] That is, he was found fault with by the pedants of 1596 for styling "The Barons' Wars," "*Mortimeriados; the lamentable Civil Warres of Edward the Second and the Barons.*" "Grammaticasters," says Drayton, in his second and improved edition, "have quarrel'd at the title of Mortimeriados, as if it had been a sin against Syntaxis to have inscribed it in the second case: But not their idle reproof hath made me now abstain from fronting it by the name of Mortimer at all, but the same better advice which hath caused me to alter the whole." He complied with their murmurs, and changed his stanza as well as his title.—P. C.

[p] Drummond has written *Ninth* for *Tenth*.—Drayton's Sonnet is the XVIIIth of "Ideas." (Chalmers's *British Poets*, vol. iv., p. 402.) The following is the Epigram by Sir John Davies, *In Decium*.

Audacious painters have Nine Worthies made,
But Poet Decius more audacious farre,
Making his Mistresse march with men of warre,
With title of Tenth Worthie doth her lade.
Methinkes that Gul did use his termes as fitt,
Which termde his Love a Giant for her witte.

[q] By "S. W." is evidently meant Sir Walter Raleigh.

[r] The metrical version of the Psalms, begun by Sir Philip Sidney, and completed by his sister, Lady Pembroke, remained unpublished till 1823, but it was probably extensively circulated in manuscript.

Marston wrott his Father-in-lawes preachings, and his Father-in-law his Commedies.[s]

Sheakspear, in a play, brought in a number of men saying they had suffered shipwrack in Bohemia, wher ther is no sea neer by some 100 miles.[t]

Daniel wrott Civill Warres, and yett hath not one batle in all his book.[u]

The Countess of Rutland[v] was nothing inferior to her Father Sir P. Sidney in poesie. Sir Th : Overburie was in love with her, and caused Ben to read his Wyffe to her, which he, with ane excellent grace, did, and praised the author. That the morne thereafter he discorded with Overburie, who would have him to intend a sute that was unlawful. The lines my Lady keep'd in remembrance, *He comes to* [*o*] *near who comes to*

[s] Little is known of Marston's personal history, and nothing of his father-in-law, excepting that Mr. Gifford has shown that the latter, probably, was William Wilkes, chaplain to King James, and that Marston died June 25, 1634. (*Ben Jonson*, vol. i., p. cxxiii., note.)

[t] See before, p. 3, note j. In justice to the author, Mr. Gifford's note on this passage should be here added : " This (he says) is the tritest of all our author's observations. No one ever read the play without noticing the 'absurdity,' as Dr. Johnson calls it ; yet, for this simple *truism*, for this casual remark in the freedom of conversation, Jonson is held up to the indignation of the world, as if the blunder was invisible to all but himself, or as if he had uttered the most deliberate and spiteful calumny." (*Ben Jonson*, vol. i., p. cxxii., note.)

[u] The allusion is to Daniel's narrative poem of the Civil Wars, of which four books were printed in 1595 : a fifth was added in 1599, a sixth in 1602, and two others, eight in all, in 1609.

[v] And Jonson tells us so in an Epistle of the Countess of Rutland, unhappily a fragment. (Vol. viii., p. 275.)

> With you I know my offering will find grace—
> For what a sin 'gainst your great father's spirit,
> Were it to think, that you should not inherit
> His love unto the Muses, when his skill
> Almost you have, or may have when you will?

This lady, Elizabeth, only child of Sir Philip Sidney, was the wife of Roger, fifth Earl of Rutland, who died 26 June, 1612. She herself died issueless in the August of the same year.—P. C.

be denied.[w] Beaumont wrot that Elegie on the death of the Countess of Rutland;[x] and in effect her husband wanted the half of his. [*sic* in MS.] in his travells.

Owen is a pure pedantique schoolmaster, sweeping his living from the posteriors of litle children; and hath no thinge good in him, his Epigrames being bare narrations.[y]

Chapman hath translated Musaeus, in his verses, like his Homer.[z]

Flesher and Beaumont, ten yeers since, hath written the Faithfull Shipheardesse,[a] a Tragicomedie, well done.

Dyer[b] died unmarried.

Sir P. Sidney was no pleasant man in countenance, his face being spoilled with pimples, and of high blood, and long: that my Lord Lisle, now Earle of Wor[ce]ster, his eldest son, resembleth him.[c]

[w] Another and a more celebrated lady kept this line in remembrance. See Lady Mary W. Montague's Poems, where this maxim is printed as her own.—(MS. note by Charles K. Sharpe, Esq.)

[x] See the Elegy in Beaumont and Fletcher's works, vol. xiv., p. 441.

[y] This is too harsh a sentence, as any one will perceive who looks into Owen's book, which passed through several editions. See the "Revels' Accounts," Introd., p. xvi., where it is stated that Prince Henry gave Owen £30 as a reward for his Latin poetry.

[z] The poem of Hero and Leander, here alluded to, was begun by Marlowe, and finished by Chapman, and printed at London, 1606, 4to. If it be meant that Chapman's part of Musæus is, like his Homer, in fourteen-syllable lines, it is a mistake; it is in ten-syllable couplets, conformable with Marlowe's portion.

[a] The Faithful Shepherdesse, a pastoral drama of great beauty, was the sole production of Fletcher. It was brought out in 1610, but not printed for some years. The first edition has no date. Of the numerous plays published under their joint names, in 1647, Sir Aston Cockayne asserts,

> For Beaumont of those many writ but few:
> ——————————— the main
> Being sweet issues of sweet Fletcher's brain.

[b] Sir Edward Dyer, whose poetry, if we may judge from what remains of it, was strangely overrated by his contemporaries. (See note by Mr. Dyce in his excellent edition of Greene's Works, vol. i., p. xxxiv.)

[c] As Jonson was only thirteen at the time of Sidney's death, in 1586,

XIII.

OF HIS OWNE LYFE, EDUCATION, BIRTH, ACTIONS.

His Grandfather came from Carlisle, and, he thought, from Anandale[d] to it: he served King Henry 8, and was a gentleman. His Father losed all his estate under Queen Marie, having been cast in prisson and forfaitted; at last turn'd Minister: so he was a minister's son. He himself was posthumous born, a moneth after his father's decease;[e] brought up poorly, putt to school by a friend (his master Cambden);[f] after taken from it, and put to ane other craft (*I think was to be a wright or bricklayer*), which he could not endure; then went he to the Low Countries; but returning soone he betook himself to his wonted studies. In his service in the Low Countries, he had, in the face of both the campes, killed ane enemie and taken *opima spolia* from him;[g] and since his com-

and then moved in a very different sphere of life, it is very unlikely that he could have known any thing of his personal appearance.

[d] Mr. Gifford makes some remarks as to the spelling of Ben Johnson's name; but, if Ben's grandfather went, as Johnson supposed, from Annandale to Carlisle, which lies very near it, he must have pronounced and written, if he could write, his name *Johnstone*. I believe there never was a Johnson heard of in Annandale or its vicinity; but it was the nest of the *Johnstones:* the lairds of the Lochwood, ancestors of the marquisses of Annandale, were the chiefs of the clan, and this consisted of many considerable families of the name of Johnstone—the lairds of Wamphray, Powdean, Lockerby, Gretna, &c. I have examined as many of their pedigrees as I possess, in order to ascertain if Benjamin were ever a family name among them, but have not found it in Annandale. —(MS. note by C. K. Sharpe, Esq.)

[e] Jonson's birth must be placed in 1573, and not 1574, as stated by Mr. Gifford and other authorities. See p. 40 of this tract. His mother married her second husband in November, 1575.

[f] On many occasions, Jonson expressed his sincere regard towards his old Master; but it may be sufficient to notice that his first play, "Every Man in his Humour," is dedicated "To the most learned and my honoured friend MASTER CAMDEN, Clarencieux."

[g] Ben Jonson's Epigram, addressed to true Soldiers, touches on this incident of his life with some elation of heart. (Works, vol. viii., p. 219.)

ming to England, being appealed to the fields, he had killed his adversarie, which [who] had hurt him in the arme, and whose sword was 10 inches longer than his; for the which he was emprissoned, and almost at the gallowes.[h] Then took he his religion by trust, of a priest who visited him in prisson. Thereafter he was 12 yeares a Papist.

He was Master of Arts in both the Universities, by their favour, not his studie.[i]

He maried a wyfe who was a shrew, yet honest: 5 yeers he had not bedded with her, but remayned with my Lord Aulbanie.

In the tyme of his close imprisonment, under Queen Elizabeth, his judges could get nothing of him to all their demands but I and No. They placed two damn'd villains to catch advantage of him, with him, but he was advertised by his keeper: of the Spies he hath ane epigrame.[j]

When the King came in England at that tyme the pest was in London, he being in the country at Sir Robert Cotton's

[h] See the "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," by J. Payne Collier, p. 50, for an original letter from P. Henslowe, to the founder of Dulwich College, by which it appears that the adversary whom Ben Jonson killed, was a player of the name of Gabriel Spencer. In the same letter Ben Jonson is called "bricklayer." The date of this event is 1598, and Henslowe's letter giving an account of it, is of the 26th of September, in that year.

[i] This is, probably, what Jonson refers to when he says, "to render myself grateful, and am studious to justify the bounty of your act," in his dedication of Volpone in 1607, "To the two famous Universities." There is no evidence that he had ever the benefit of an academical education. According to Anthony Wood (Fasti, vol. i., p. 392), "Benjamin Johnson, the father of English poets and poetry, and the most learned and judicious of the comedians, was then actually created Master of Arts, in a full House of Convocation," 19th July, 1619. From this date it would appear that the honour had been conferred on him a second time at Oxford, while on a visit to Dr. Corbet, Dean of Christ's Church, after his return from Scotland.

[j] Spies, you are lights in state, but of base stuff,
Who, when you've burnt your selves down to the snuff,
Stink, and are thrown away. End fair enough.
(Works, vol. viii., p. 182.)

house with old Cambden, he saw in a vision his eldest sone, then a child and at London, appear unto him with the mark of a bloodie crosse on his forehead, as if it had been cutted with a suord, at which amazed he prayed unto God, and in the morning he came to Mr. Cambden's chamber to tell him; who persuaded him it was but ane apprehension of his fantasie, at which he sould not be disjected; in the mean tyme comes there letters from his wife of the death of that boy in the plague.[k] He appeared to him (he said) of a manlie shape, and of that grouth that he thinks he shall be at the resurrection.

He was dilated by Sir James Murray to the King, for writting something against the Scots, in a play Eastward Hoe,[l] and voluntarly imprissonned himself with Chapman and Marston, who had written it amongst them. The report was, that they should then [have] had their ears cut and noses. After their delivery, he banqueted all his friends; there was Camden, Selden, and others; at the midst of the feast his old Mother dranke to him, and shew him a paper which she had (if the sentence had taken execution) to have mixed in the prisson among his drinke, which was full of lustie strong poison, and that she was no churle, she told, she minded first to have drunk of it herself.

He had many quarrells with Marston, beat him, and took his pistol from him, wrote his Poetaster on him;[m] the beginning of them were, that Marston represented him in the stage,

[k] This plague broke out in 1603, and Jonson's child was then in his seventh year. (See Gifford's note, Works, vol. viii., p. 175.)

[l] The objectionable passage was, probably, omitted in the printed copy of the play. Jonson was a second time in prison with his friend Chapman in 1605, and the cause—a play. We know no more than that Jonson solicited Lord Salisbury to protect them. What the offence was, and the very name of the play, remain unknown. The letter, and it is a manly one, is in Gifford. (Works, vol. i., p. cxxxix.)

[m] The Poetaster was brought out in 1601, and in it he ridicules Marston and Dekker, under the respective names of Crispinus and Demetrius. (See before, p. 4, note k.)

in his youth given to venerie. He thought the use of a maide nothing in comparison to the wantoness of a wyfe, and would never have ane other mistress. He said two accidents strange befell him:[n] one, that a man made his own wyfe to court him, whom he enjoyed two yeares ere he knew of it, and one day finding them by chance, was passingly delighted with it; ane other, lay divers tymes with a woman, who shew him all that he wished, except the last act, which she would never agree unto.

S. W. Raulighe sent him governour with his Son, anno 1613, to France.[o] This youth being knavishly inclyned, among other pastimes (as the setting of the favour of damosells on a cwd-piece), caused him to be drunken, and dead drunk, so that he knew not wher he was, therafter laid him on a carr, which he made to be drawen by pioners through the streets, at every corner showing his governour streetched out, and telling them, that was a more lively image of the Crucifix then any they had: at which sport young Raughlie's mother delyghted much (saying, his father young was so inclyned), though the Father abhorred it.

He can set horoscopes, but trusts not in them. He with the consent of a friend cousened a lady, with whom he had made ane apointment to meet ane old Astrologer, in the suburbs, which she keeped; and it was himself disguysed in a longe gowne and a whyte beard at the light of dimm burning candles, up in a little cabinet reached unto by a ledder.

[n] The relation of these "accidents" might have been well spared, but, so much has been said in regard to this literary document, that I could not think myself justified in withholding any passages in it that relate to Jonson's personal history.

[o] The story of Ben Jonson's visit to France as governor of Sir Walter Raleigh's son, is discredited by Mr. Gifford, proceeding on the inaccuracy in the date, 1593, given by Aubrey, which is, indeed, two years before Sir Walter's son was born. The date 1613, when young Raleigh was in the eighteenth year, corresponds with the previous note of Jonson's conversation with Cardinal du Perron, while at Paris.

Every first day of the new year he had 20lb. sent him from the Earl of Pembrok to buy bookes.

After he was reconciled with the Church, and left of to be a recusant, at his first communion, in token of true reconciliation, he drank out all the full cup of wyne.

Being at the end of my Lord Salisburie's table with Inigo Jones, and demanded by my Lord, Why he was not glad? My Lord, said he, yow promised I should dine with yow, bot I doe not, for he had none of his meate; he esteemed only that his meate which was of his own dish.

He heth consumed a whole night in lying looking to his great toe, about which he hath seen Tartars and Turks, Romans and Carthaginians, feight in his imagination.

Northampton was his mortall enimie for beating, on a St. George's day, one of his attenders: He was called before the Councell for his Sejanus,[p] and accused both of poperie and treason by him.[q]

Sundry tymes he hath devoured his bookes, *i.* [*e.*] *sold them all for necessity.*

He heth a minde to be a churchman, and so he might have favour to make one sermon to the King, he careth not what therafter sould befall him: for he would not flatter though he saw Death.

At his hither comming, S[r] Francis Bacon[r] said to him, He loved not to sie Poesy goe on other feet than poeticall Dactylus and Spondaeus.

[p] Sejanus was first acted in 1603, but not published till 1605. Jonson says that it had outlived the malice of its enemies, when he republished it in his works, 1616.

[q] An accusation of popery came with a bad grace from the Earl of Northampton, who, bred a papist, professed protestantism during the reign of Elizabeth, openly reverted to popery at the accession of James, which, at his request, he again abandoned to die—an avowed Catholic. See some account of him in Lord Orford's "Royal and Noble Authors," where all that can be told of him is little to his credit.—P. C.

[r] Jonson, in his "Discoveries," has done himself honour in the affectionate manner in which he delineates the character of Lord Bacon. "My

XIV.

14. His narrations of great ones.

He never esteemed of a man for the name of a Lord.

Queen Elizabeth never saw her self after she became old in a true glass; they painted her, and sometymes would vermilion her nose. She had allwayes about Christmass evens set dice that threw sixes or five, and she knew not they were other, to make her win and esteame herself fortunate. That she had a membrana[s] on her, which made her incapable of man, though for her delight she tryed many. At the comming over of Monsieur, ther was a French chirurgion who took in hand to cut it, yett fear stayed her, and his death. King Philip had intention by dispensation of the Pope to have maried her.

Sir P. Sidneye's Mother, Leicester's sister, after she had the litle pox,[t] never shew herself in Court therafter bot masked.

conceit of his person (he says) was never increased toward him by his place, or honours: but I have and do reverence him, for the greatness that was only proper to himself, in that he seemed to me ever, by his work, one of the greatest men, and most worthy of admiration, that had been in many ages. In his adversity I ever prayed, that God would give him strength; for greatness he could not want. Neither could I condole in a word or syllable for him; as knowing no accident could do harm to virtue, but rather help to make it manifest." (Works, vol. ix., p. 185.) See, also, his lines "on Lord Bacon's Birthday." (Ibid. vol. viii., 440.)

[s] "This impediment is mentioned in a letter from our Queen Mary, addressed to her sister queen, printed in the Burghley Papers [by Murdin, p. 558]. I have read somewhere that the epistle was supposed to be a forgery, in order to irritate Queen Elizabeth against Queen Mary. It appeared to me long ago to be a trick of Queen Mary's, to enrage Elizabeth against Lady Shrewsbury. I think there is something about this in Lord Orford's Royal and Noble Authors."—(MS. note by Charles K. Sharpe, Esq.) See also Appendix to Hume's History, and Seward's Anecdotes.

[t] Jonson has "an Epigram to the Small-pox," which may have allusion to the lady above mentioned. (Works, vol. viii., p. 399.) This is referred

The Earl of Leicester gave a botle of liquor to his Lady, which he willed her to use in any faintness; which she, after his returne from Court, not knowing it was poison, gave him, and so he died.[u]

Salisbury never cared for any man longer nor he could make use of him.

My Lord Lisle's daughter, my Lady Wroth,[v] is unworthily maried on a jealous husband.

Ben one day being at table with my Lady Rutland, her Husband comming in, accused her that she keept table to poets, of which she wrott a letter to him [Jonson], which he answered. My Lord intercepted the letter, but never chalenged him.

to by Lord Brooke, in his Life of Sir Philip Sydney. "The mischance of sickness having cast such a kind of veil over her excellent beauty, she chose rather to hide herself from the curious eyes of a delicate time, than come upon the stage of the world with any disparagement."—P. C.

[u] Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, died September 4, 1588. It had been suspected he died of poison, and that his lady served him as he is said to have served others; but the above statement goes far to prove that it was unintentional. In the Hawth. MSS. is the following epitaph, "Of the Earle of Lei[ce]ster," probably communicated to Drummond by Ben Jonson:—

Heere lies a valiant warrior,
who never drew a sword;
Here lies a noble courtier,
who never kept his word;
Here lies the Earle of Leister,
who govern'd the Estates;
Whom the' Earth could never living love,
and the just Heaven now hates.

[v] Jonson dedicated his Alchemist, in 1612, to Lady Mary Wroth, who was daughter to Robert Earl of Leicester, and, consequently, niece to Sir Philip Sidney. She wrote a pastoral romance called *Urania*, in imitation of her uncle's *Arcadia*, printed in 1621, which contains some very pretty verses. Her husband was Sir Robert Wroth, of Durance, in the county of Middlesex. (See notes in Gifford's Jonson, vol. iv., p. 5, and vol. viii., p. 391.)

My Lord Chancelor of England[w] wringeth his speeches from the strings of his band, and other Councellours from the pyking of their teeth.

Pembrok and his Lady discoursing, the Earl said, The woemen were men's shadowes, and she maintained them. Both appealing to Johnson, he affirmed it true; for which my Lady gave a pennance to prove it in verse: hence his epigrame.[x]

Essex wrote that Epistle or preface befor the translation of the last part of Tacitus,[y] which is A. B. The last book the

[w] Sir Francis Bacon was Lord High Chancellor of England between 1617 and 1621.

[x] See this epigram, or "song," as it is called, in his Works, vol. viii., p. 265.

[y] The Annals of Tacitus, and his Description of Germany, were translated by Richard Greenway, and printed in 1598, with a dedication to Robert, Earl of Essex. The other portions of Tacitus, being his History, in four books (the fifth book being omitted, for which Jonson has here assigned a reason), and the Life of Agricola, had been previously translated and published by Sir Henry Saville, viz., in 1591, and again in 1598, dedicated "To her most Sacred Majestie." In the third edition, printed at London in the year 1604, these translations form one volume; and to Saville's, being the last portion, is prefixed the address of "A. B." "To the Reader," which Jonson here mentions as having been written by the Earl of Essex. Jonson has an epigram to Savile:

> If, my religion safe, I durst embrace
> That stranger doctrine of Pythagoras,
> I should believe, the soul of Tacitus
> In thee, most weighty SAVILE lived to us:
> So hast thou render'd him in all his bounds,
> And all his numbers, both of sense and sounds.

There is yet more of this. "Sir Nicholas Bacon," says Jonson, in his Discoveries, "was singular, and almost alone, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time. Sir Philip Sidney and Mr. Hooker (in different matter) grew great masters of wit and language, and in whom all vigour of invention and strength of judgment met. The Earl of Essex, noble and high; and Sir Walter Raleigh, not to be contemned, either for judgment or style. Sir Henry Savile, grave and truly lettered; Sir Edwin Sandys, excellent in both; Lord Egerton, the chancellor, a grave and great orator, and best

gentleman durst not translate for the evill it containes of the Jewes.

The King said Sir P. Sidney was no poet.[z] Neither did he see ever any verses in England to the Scullor's.[a]

It were good that the half of the preachers of England were plain ignorants, for that either in their sermons they flatter, or strive to shew their own eloquence.

XV.

His opinione of verses.

That he wrott all his first in prose, for so his Master, Cambden, had learned him.

That verses stood by sense without either colours or accent; *which yett other tymes he denied.*

A great many epigrams were ill, because they expressed in the end what sould have been understood by what was said. That of S. Joh. Davies, 'Some loved running verses,' *plus mihi complacet.*

He imitated the description of a night from Bonifonius his *Vigilium Veneris.*

when he was provoked. But his learned and able (though unfortunate) successor is he who hath filled up all numbers, and performed that in our tongue, which may be compared or preferred either to insolent Greece, or haughty Rome."

[z] King James, in his youth, wrote a sonnet on Sir Philip Sidney's death, in which he calls upon Mars, Minerva, Apollo, and "the Sisters who dwell on Parnassus," to

Lament for him who duelie serv'd you all.

This sonnet was not only translated into Latin by the King himself, but was honoured in a similar manner by several of his courtiers, namely, by Patrick, afterwards Lord Gray, Sir John Maitland, afterwards Lord Thirlestane, and Alexander Seton, afterwards Earl of Dunfermline, besides two different versions "per Coronellum Ja. Halkerston." The sonnet and these different versions are inserted in the volume entitled "Academiae Cantabrigiensis Lachrymæ tumulo Nobilissimi Equitis, D. Philippi Sidneij sacratæ, per Alexandrun Nevillum." Londini, 1587, 4to.

[a] Apparently meaning John Taylor, the Water-Poet.

He scorned such verses as could be transponed.

Wher is the man that never yett did hear
Of faire Penelope, Ulisses Queene?
Of faire Penelope, Ulisses Queene,
Wher is the man that never yett did hear?[b]

XVI.

OF HIS WORKES:

That the half of his Comedies were not in print.

He hath a pastorall intitled The May Lord.[c] His own name is Alkin, Ethra the Countesse of Bedfoord's, Mogibell Overberry, the old Countesse of Suffolk ane inchanteress; other names are given to Somersett's Lady, Pembrook, the Countesse of Rutland, Lady Wroth. In his first storie, Alkin commeth in mending his broken pipe. *Contrary to all other pastoralls, he bringeth the clownes making mirth and foolish sports.*[d]

[b] These are the opening lines of Sir John Davies or Davy's "Orchestra, or a Poeme of Dauncing," first printed in 12mo. 1596. It differs materially from the later impressions. ("Bridgewater Catalogue," by Collier, p. 92.) See the same lines repeated at page 33.

[c] This pastoral, "The May Lord," is supposed to have perished in the fire which accidentally consumed Jonson's papers. Mr. Gifford objects in strong terms to the remark by Drummond at the end of the paragraph, "Contrary to all other pastorals," &c. (Works, vol. vi., p. 250.)

[d] "The criticism," says Gifford, "is worthy of the critic."

But here's an heresy of late let fall,
That mirth by no means fits a pastoral;
Such say so, who can make none, he presumes:
Else there's no scene more properly assumes
The sock.

They who said this would have

No style for pastoral should go
Current, but what is stamp'd with Ah! and O!
Who judgeth so, may singularly err;
As if all poesie had one character
In which what were not written, were not right.

These lines are from the prologue to *The Sad Shepherd*, and seem to have some allusion to the critic at Hawthornden.—P. C.

He hath intention to writt a fisher or pastorall play, and sett the stage of it in the Lowmond lake.[e]

That Epithalamium that wants a name in his printed Workes was made at the Earl of Essex ['s] mariage.[f]

He is to writt his foot Pilgrimage hither, and to call it a Discoverie.

In a poem he calleth Edinborough

The heart[g] of Scotland, Britaines other eye.

A play of his, upon which he was accused, The Divell is ane Ass ;[h] according to *Comedia Vetus*, in England the Divell was brought in either with one Vice or other: the play done the Divel caried away the Vice, he brings in the Divel so overcome with the wickedness of this age that thought himself ane Ass. Παρεργους is discoursed of the Duke of Drounland: the King desired him to conceal it.

[e] Jonson appears to have greatly admired the beautiful scenery of Loch-lomond, and in his letters to Drummond reminds him of his promise to send him "some things concerning the Loch of Lomond;" and Drummond, in a letter, dated July 1, 1619, and printed in the Preface, says, in his last he had sent a description of Loch Lomond, with a map of Inch-merinoch.

[f] This appears, from the title to the original 4to. edition, "Hymenæi; or the Solemnities of Masque and Barriers, magnificently performed on the Eleventh and Twelfth Nights from Chrystmas, at Court: to the auspicious celebrating of the Marriage-Union betweene Robert Earle of Essex and the Lady Frances, second daughter of the most noble Earle of Suffolke, 1605-6. The Author B. J." 1606, the date of the nuptials. The earl was divorced from the countess in 1613, who then espoused Carr, Earl of Somerset, the favourite of King James, a circumstance sufficient to account for his omitting the names of the parties in his Works, 1616. (See vol. vii., p. 47.)

[g] In Sibbald's MS., *part* is written by mistake for *heart;* but the poem by Jonson referred to is not known to be preserved.

[h] The comedy of "The Devil is an Ass," was acted in 1616, but not printed for many years afterwards, and, during that interval, may have undergone alterations by the author in consequence of the accusation referred to above. The "Vice" was the buffoon in the old mysteries and moralities of the English stage.

He hath commented and translated Horace['s] Art of Poesie: it is in dialogue wayes; by Criticus he understandeth Dr. Done. The old book that goes about, The Art of English Poesie, was done 20 yeers since, and keept long in wrytt as a secret.

He had ane intention to have made a play like Plautus['s] Amphitrio, but left it of, for that he could never find two so like others that he could persuade the spectators they were one.[i]

XVII.

Of his jeasts and apothegms.[j]

At what tyme Henry the Fourth turn'd Catholick, Pasquill had in his hand a book, and was asked by Morphorius What it was? he told him, It was gramer. Why doe ye studie gramer, being so old? asked Morphorius. Because, ansuered he, I have found a positive that hath no superlative, and a superlative that wants a positive: The King of Spain is Rex Catholicus, and is not Catholicissimus; and the French King Christianissimus, yett is not Christianus.

When they drank on him he cited that of Plinie that they had call'd him *Ad prandium, non ad pœnam et notam.*

And said of that Panagyrist who wrott panagyriques in acrostics, windowes crosses, that he was *Homo miserrimæ patientiæ.*

He scorned Anagrams; and had ever in his mouth

> Turpe est difficiles amare nugas,
> Et stultus labor est ineptiarum.

[i] If the spectators were so persuaded, they could not possibly relish the play.

[j] Of these "Jests and Apothegmes" several are found repeated by Drummond in what he calls "Democritie; a Labyrinth of Delight, or worke preparative for the apologie of Democritus:" containing a number of anecdotes, pasquils, anagrams, &c. It is preserved among the Hawthornden Manuscripts, in the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. (Arch. Scotica, vol. iv.)

A Cook who was of ane evill lyfe, when a minister told him He would to hell; askt, What torment was there? Being ansuered Fyre. Fire (said he), that is my play-fellow.

A Lord playing at Tenis, and having asked those in the gallerie Whither a strock was Chase or Losse? A Brother of my Lord Northumberland's answered, it was Loss. The Lord demanded If he did say it? I say it, said he, what are yow? I have played your worth! said the Lord. Ye know not the worth of a gentleman! replyed the other. And it proved so, for ere he died he was greater than the other. Ane other English Lord lossed all his game, if he had seen a face that liked him not he stroke his balls at that gallerie.

Ane Englishman who had maintained Democritus' opinion of atomes, being old, wrott a book to his son (who was not then six years of age), in which he left him arguments to maintain, and answer objections, for all that was in his book; only, if they objected obscuritie against his book, he bid him answer, that his Father, above all names in the world, hated most the name of Lucifer, and all open writters were *Luciferi*.

Butlar excommunicat from his table all reporters of long poems, wilfull disputers, tedious discoursers: the best banquets were those wher they mistered no musitians to chase tym.

The greatest sport he saw in France was the picture of our Saviour with the Apostles eating the Pascall lamb that was all larded.

At a supper wher a gentlewoman had given him unsavoury wild-foul, and therefter, to wash, sweet water; he commended her that shee gave him sweet water, because her flesh stinked.

He said to Prince Charles of Inigo Jones, that when he wanted words to express the greatest villaine in the world, he would call him ane Inigo.[k]

[k] Jonson said to Prince Charles, "That when he wanted words to sett forth a knave, he would name him an Inigo." Hawth. MSS. (Arch. Scotica, vol. iv.)

Jones having accused him for naming him, behind his back, A foole: he denied it; but, says he, I said, He was ane arrant knave, and I avouch it.[1]

One who fired a Tobacco pipe with a ballet [ballad] the next day having a sore-head, swoare he had a great singing in his head, and he thought it was the ballet: A Poet should detest a Ballet maker.

He saw a picture painted by a bad painter, of Easter, Haman and Assuerus. Haman courting Esther, in a bed after the fashion of ours, was only seen by one leg. Assuerus back was turned, with this verse over him, And wilt thou, Haman, be so malitious as to lye with myne own wyfe in myne house?

He himselfe being once so taken, the Goodman said, I would not believe yee would abuse my house so.

In a profound contemplation a student of Oxeford ran over a man in the fields, and walked 12 miles ere he knew what he was doing.

One who wore side hair being asked of ane other who was bald, why he suffered his haire to grow so long, answered, It

[1] These notes bear ample testimony to the fact of Jonson's quarrel with Inigo Jones, although no doubt they were reconciled previous to their fresh animosity, when Jones, with a spirit unworthy of a man of such genius, embittered the declining years of the poet, then suffering under the two-fold pressure of disease and poverty. In the Hawth. MSS. is the following epigram "Of Inigo Jones," by Sir William Alexander:

This man so conversantlye acts his part
That it turnes naturall to him what late was art.

This fresh animosity between Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones seems to have broken out in 1631, because (according to a letter from John Pory to Sir T. Puckering, quoted in Collier's "Annals of the Stage," vol. ii., p. 37), on the title-page of *Chloridia*, Ben Jonson had put his own name before that of Inigo Jones. Jonson subsequently wrote the part of Vitruvius Hoop, in his "Tale of a Tub," in ridicule of Jones; and, when Sir H. Herbert licensed it, the offensive character and the motion of the tub were struck out "by command from my Lord Chamberlain, exceptions being taken against it by Inigo Jones, surveyor of the King's works, as a personal injury to him."—(*Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 53.)

was to sie if his haire would grow to seed, that he might sow of it on bald pates.[m]

A Painter who could paint nothing but a rose, when ane Innkeeper had advised with him about ane ensing, said, That a horse was a good one, so was a hare, but a rose was above them all.

A little man drinking Prince Henrie's health between two tall fellowes, said, He made up the H.

Sir Henry Wotton,[n] befor his Majesties going to England, being disguised at Leith on Sunday, when all the rest were at church, being interrupted of his occupation by ane other wenche who came in at the door, cryed out, "Pox on thee, for thou hast hindered the procreation of a chyld," and betrayed himself.

A Justice of Peace would have commanded a Captaine to sit first at a table, because, sayes he, I am a Justice of Peace; the other drawing his sword comanded him, for sayeth he, I am a Justice of War.

What is that, the more yow out of it, groweth still the longer? — A Ditch.

He used to say, that they who delight to fill men extraordinarie full in their own houses, loved to have their meate againe.

A certain Puritain minister would not give the Communion save unto 13 at once: (imitating, as he thought, our Master.) Now, when they were sett, and one bethinking himself that some of them must represent Judas, that it sould not be

[m] This jest of beards running to seed, "to sow bald pates withall," is introduced by Jonson in The Staple of News, act iii., scene i.

[n] Isaak Walton relates of Sir Henry Wotton, that about a year before Queen Elizabeth's death, Sir Henry came to Scotland, taking the name and language of an Italian, and remained there three months under the assumed name of Octavio Baldi, only known to James VI.; having been sent by Ferdinand, Grand Duke of Florence, "who had intercepted certain letters, that discovered a design to take away the life of the then King of Scots."

he returned, and so did all the rest, understanding his thought.

A Gentlewoman fell in such a phantasie or phrensie with one Mr. Dod, a puritan preacher, that she requeested her Husband that, for the procreation of ane Angel or Saint, he might lye with her; which having obtained,[o] it was but ane ordinarie birth.

Scaliger writtes ane epistle to Casaubone, wher he scorns his [us?] Englishe speaking of Latine, for he thought he had spoken English to him.[p]

A Gentleman reading a poem that began with

> Wher is the man that never yet did hear
> Of fair Penelope, Ulysses Queene?

calling his Cook, asked If he had ever heard of her? Who answering, No, demonstrate to him,

> Lo, ther the man that never yet did hear
> Of fair Penelope, Ulysses Queene!

A waiting woman having cockered with muskadel and eggs her mistresse page, for a shee meeting in the dark, his mistress invaded; of whom she would of such boldness have a reason. "Faith, Lady (said hee) I have no reason, save that such was the good pleasure of muskadel and eggs."

A Judge comming along a hall, and being stopped by a throng, cried *Dominum cognoscite vestrum.* One of them ther said, They would, if he durst say the beginning of that verse (for he had a fair wyfe): *Actæon ego sum*, cryed he, and went on.

A packet of letters which had fallen over board was devored of a fish that was tane at Flushing, and the letters were safely delivered to him to whom they were written at London.

[o] It is, perhaps, scarcely worth remarking, that this is not a very credible anecdote, in regard at least to Mr. Dod.

[p] This seems to allude to a curious passage in a letter of Scaliger's, addressed, not to Casaubon, but to Stephanus Ubertus, in 1608. (Scaligeri Epistolæ, p. 706, edit. 1627, 8vo.)

He scorned that simplicitie of Cardan about the peeble stone of Dover, which he thought had that vertue, keeped betweene one's teeth, as to save him from being sick.

A scholar expert in Latine and Greke, but nothing in the English, said of hott broath, that he would make the danger of it: for it could not be ill English that was good Latine, *facere periculum.*

A translatour of the Emperours lyves, translated Antonius Pius, Antonie Pye.[q]

The word Harlott was taken from Arlotte,[r] who was the mother of William the Conquerour; a Rogue from the Latine, Erro, by putting a G to it.

S[r] Geslaine Piercy asked the Maior of Plimmouth, Whether it was his own beard or the Town's beard that he came to welcome my Lord with? for, he thought, it was so long that he thought every one of the Town had eked some part to it.

That he stroke at S[r] Hierosme Bowes' breast, and asked him If he was within.

An epitaph was made upon one who had a long beard,

Here lyes a man at a beard's end, &c.[s]

He said to the King, his master, M. G. Buchanan, had cor-

[q] The worthy old Roman is so called in "the booke of the life of the noble and eloquent Mark Aurelye Anthony Emperour." A small black letter volume, printed in the early part of the sixteenth century. There are other amusing renderings of Roman names. Seneca, is *Senec;* Pyrrhus, *Pyrhe;* Cneius Rufinus, *Cnee Ruffyn;* and Aulus Gellius, *Aule Gele,* or *Aul Gely.*—P. C.

[r] See note by Gifford, to a passage in Jonson's Volpone, (Works, vol. iii., p. 311.) Moth, the antiquary, in Cartwright's Ordinary, gives the very definition that Jonson gives.

[s] This epitaph occurs in the Hawthornden MSS. as follows:

Epitaph of a Longe Bearde.

At a Beards end, heere lies a man,
The odds 'tween them was scarce a span;
Living, with his wombe it did meet,
And now dead, it covers his feet.

rupted his eare when young, and learned him to sing verses when he sould have read them.

S^r^ Francis Walsingham said of our King, when he was Ambassadour in Scotland, *Hic nunquam regnabit supernos.*

Of all his Playes he never gained two hundreth pounds.

He had oft this verse, though he scorned it:

> So long as we may, let us enjoy this breath,
> For nought doth kill a man so soon as Death.

. . . . . .

Heywood the Epigrammatist[t] being apparelled in velvet by Queen Mary, with his cap on in the presence, in spight of all the Gentlemen, till the Queen herself asked him what he meaned? and then he asked her, If he was Heywood? for she had made him so brave that he almost had misknowen himself.

His Impressa was a compass with one foot in center, the other broken, the word, *Deest quod duceret orbem.*

Essex, after his brother's death, Mr. D'Evreux, in France, at tilt had a black shield void, the word, *Par nulla figura dolori.* Ane other tyme, when the Queen was offended at him, a diamond with its own ashes, with which it is cutt, about it the word, *Dum formas minuis.*

He gave the Prince, *Fax gloria mentis honestæ.*[u]

He said to me, that I was too good and simple, and that oft a man's modestie made a fool of his witt.

His armes were three spindles or *rhombi*; his own word about them, *Percunctabor* or *Perscrutator.*[v]

[t] Old John Heywood, the epigrammatist, was among the earliest of the English dramatic writers, and his works possess a good deal of wit and coarse humour. Jonson introduces his name in his "Tale of a Tub."

[u] This is the motto of the badge which our Nova Scotia baronets now bear, but it runs:—*Fax mentis honestæ gloria.*

[v] Mr. J. P. Collier is in possession of a title-page of a copy of the "Diana" of Montemayor, translated by B. Yonge, which formerly belonged to Ben Jonson, and upon the title-page he has written his name, with the addition of the words, *Tanquam Explorator.*

His Epitaph, by a companion written, is,

Here lyes Benjamin Johnson dead,
And hath no more wit than [a] goose in his head;
That as he was wont, so doth he still,
Live by his wit, and evermore will.[w]

Ane other.

Here lyes honest Ben,
That had not a beard on his chen.

XVIII.

Miscellanies.

John Stow had monstrous observations in his Chronicle, and was of his craft a tailour. He and I walking alone, he asked two criples, what they would have to take him to their order.

In his Sejanus he hath translated a whole oration of Tacitus: the first four bookes of Tacitus ignorantly done in Englishe.[x]

J. Selden liveth on his owne, is the Law book of the Judges of England, the bravest man in all languages; his booke "Titles of Honour," written to his chamber-fellow Heyward.

Tailor was sent along here to scorn him.[y]

Cambden wrot that book "Remaines of Bretagne."[z]

Joseph Hall the harbenger to Done's Anniversarie.[a]

The epigrame of Martial, *Vir verpium* he vantes to expone.

[w] In the Hawth. MSS., these lines are also found, with some verbal alteration, entitled, "B. Johnson his Epitaph, told to mee by himselfe: not made by him." (Arch. Scotica, vol. iv.)

[x] This, undoubtedly, refers to Saville's translation, and rather contradicts his encomium of the work, as quoted at page 25, note y.

[y] In the Introduction it has been shown that Taylor vindicates himself from such an imputation.

[z] Camden's "Remains concerning Britain" were published originally in 1605, without the author's name.

[a] Prefixed to "The Second Anniversary" of the Progress of the Soul are forty-two lines, entitled "The Harbinger to the Progress," being evidently what Jonson referred to, as written by Hall.

Lucan, Sidney, Guarini, make every man speak as well as themselves, forgetting decorum; for Dametas sometymes speaks grave sentences. Lucan taken in parts excellent, altogidder naught.[b]

He dissuaded me from Poetrie, for that she had beggered him, when he might have been a rich lawer, physitian, or marchant.[c]

Questioned about English, *them*, *they*, *those*. *They* is still the nominative, *those* accusative, *them* newter; collective, not *them men*, *them* trees, but *them* by itself referred to many. *Which*, *who*, be relatives, not *that*. *Flouds*, *hilles*, he would have masculines.

He was better versed, and knew more in Greek and Latin, than all the Poets in England, and quintessence their braines.

He made much of that Epistle of Plinius, wher *Ad prandium*, *non ad notam* is; and that other of Marcellinus, who Plinie made to be removed from the table; and of the grosse turbat.

One wrote one epigrame to his father, and vanted he had slain ten, the quantity of *decem* being false. An other answered the epigrame, telling that *decem* was false.

S. J. Davies' epigrame of the whoores C. compared to a coule.

Of all styles he loved most to be named Honest, and hath of that ane hundreth letters so naming him.

[b] This is merely the repetition, as regards Lucan, of an opinion assigned to Jonson in an earlier part of these notes, and in nearly the same words. See p. 4.

[c] At a later period, in his "Discoveries," he says, "Poetry, in this latter age, hath proved but a mean mistress to such as have wholly addicted themselves to her, or given their names up to her family. They who have saluted her on the by, and now and then tendered their visits, she hath done much for, and advanced in the way of their own professions (both the law and the gospel), beyond all they could have hoped or done for themselves without her favour."—(Works, vol. ix., p. 175.) Ben Jonson may here have meant to refer to men like Sir John Davys, Dr. Donne, and Bishop Hall.

He had this oft,—

> Thy flattering picture, Phrenee, is lyke thee
> Only in this, that ye both painted be.[d]

In his merry humor he was wont to name himself The Poet.

He went from Lieth homeward the 25 of January 1619,[e] in a pair of shoes which, he told, lasted him since he came from Darnton,[f] which he minded to take back that farr againe: they were appearing like Coriat's:[g] the first two dayes he was all excoriate.

If he died by the way, he promised to send me his papers of this Country, hewen as they were.

I have to send him descriptions of Edinbrough, Borrow Lawes, of the Lowmond.

That piece of the Pucelle of the Court was stolen out of his pocket by a gentleman who drank him drousie, and given Mistress Boulstraid; which brought him great displeasure.[h]

XIX.

He sent to me this Madrigal:

ON A LOVERS DUST, MADE SAND FOR ANE HOURE GLASSE.[i]

> Doe but consider this smal dust here running in the glasse
> by atomes moved,
> Could thou believe that this the bodie ever was
> of one that loved?

---

[d] This epigram is printed in Donne's Poems, p. 64, edit. 1669, 8vo.

[e] In Drummond's Works is a short letter to Jonson, dated January 17th, 1619, mentioning his having heard from Court, that Jonson's "absence was regretted: such applause (he adds) hath true worth," &c., p. 234.—See it also in the preface to this tract, p. ix.

[f] Probably Darlington in Durham.

[g] Thomas Coryat of Odcombe, who published his Travels in 1611, under the title of "Crudities," and prefaced with an extensive and most singular collection of mock "Panegyricke verses in praise of the author and his worke," written by Jonson, and most of the principal wits of the time.

[h] See before, p. 7, note v.

[i] This madrigal, and the lines that follow it, dated January 19, 1619, in Drummond's Works, p. 155, are introduced with the dedication, (which is

And, in his Mistresse flaming playing like the flye,
turned to cinders by her eye?
Yes, and in death, as lyfe unblest
to have it exprest
Even ashes of Lovers find no rest.

And that which is (as he said) a Picture of himselfe.[j]

I doubt that Love is rather deafe than blinde,
For else it could not bee,
That shee,
Whom I adore so much, should so slight mee,
And cast my sute behinde:
I'm sure my language to her is as sweet,
And all my closes meet
In numbers of as subtile feete
As makes the youngest hee,
That sits in shadow of Apollo's tree.

O! but my conscious feares,
That flye my thoughts betweene,
Prompt mee that shee hath seene
My hundred of gray haires,
Told six and forty yeares,[k]
Read so much waste, as she cannot embrace
My mountaine belly, and my rockye face,
And all these, through her eies, have stop'd her eares.

---

inserted at page ix. of the preface) and was no doubt printed from Jonson's own autograph. It is not contained in Sibbald's MS., as Drummond had not transcribed this personal compliment to himself. It is uncertain whether the original autograph is still preserved.

[j] According to Drummond's Works, this "Picture," in the original MS., was thus prefaced: "Yet that Love, when it is at full, may admit heaping, receive another; and this a Picture of my self."

[k] As this was undoubtedly written in January 1619, and not in January 1619-20, as Mr. Gifford states (vol. i., p. 3), it places Jonson's birth in the year 1573, and not in the subsequent year, the date which is usually assigned. In England, indeed, the year was still reckoned as commencing on the 25th of March; but in Scotland this computation had been changed, and our present mode adopted from and after the first of January 1601.

January 19, 1619.

He [Jonson] is a great lover and praiser of himself; a contemner and scorner of others; given rather to losse a friend than a jest; jealous of every word and action of those about him, (especiallie after drink, which is one of the elements in which he liveth;) a dissembler of ill parts which raigne in him, a bragger of some good that he wanteth; thinketh nothing well bot what either he himself or some of his friends and countrymen hath said or done; he is passionately kynde and angry; careless either to gaine or keep; vindicative, but, if he be well answered, at himself.

For any religion, as being versed in both.[1] *Interpreteth best sayings and deeds often to the worst. Oppressed with fantasie,*

[1] See Mr. Boswell's remarks on this passage, in his edition of Malone's Shakespeare, vol. i., p. xlix. After the above words, the following interpolations first appeared in Cibber's Lives of the English Poets, which were in fact the compilation of Richard Shiel, though published in Cibber's name. "He was for any religion, being *versed in all;* his inventions were smooth and easy, but above all he excelled in translation. *In short, he was in his personal character the very reverse of Shakespeare, as surly, ill-natured, proud, and disagreeable, as Shakespeare, with ten times his merit, was gentle, good-natured, easy, and amiable.*" (Vol. i., p. 241.) For the words here printed in Italics, Drummond's MSS. furnish no kind of authority. Neither does Sibbald's transcript contain "The Character of several Authors, given by Mr. Drummond" himself, which is inserted in his Works, p. 226, and will be found in the appendix to this tract, p. 48. The summing up of Jonson's character remains, indeed, as unqualified as ever, and it is by no means a flattering picture. The only question, however, is, whether Drummond was a competent and an unprejudiced observer, and whether the impression left on his mind, after several days' social intercourse, be a correct delineation of Jonson's personal character and disposition — points which need not be here discussed. Mr. Gifford admits "that forbearance was at no time our poet's (Jonson's) virtue," while Drummond's testimony was not required in order to satisfy us of Jonson's overweening vanity, of his occasional arrogance, and his despite and jealousy of some of his contemporaries; but, on the other hand, he possessed many redeeming qualities, and a warm-hearted humanity, which had been sacrificed to an imaginary envy

which hath ever mastered his reason, a generall disease in many Poets. His inventions are smooth and easie; but above all he excelleth in a Translation.[m]

When his play of a Silent Woman was first acted, ther was found verses after on the stage against him, concluding that that play was well named the Silent Woman, ther was never one man to say Plaudite to it.

FINIS.

of Shakespeare. His character cannot be better drawn than in the words of Mr. Campbell, with part of which we may conclude. "It is true that he [Jonson] had lofty notions of himself, was proud even to arrogance in his defiance of censure, and, in the warmth of his own praises of himself, was scarcely surpassed by his most zealous admirers; but many fine traits of honour and affection are likewise observable in the portrait of his character, and the charges of malice and jealousy that have been heaped on his name for a hundred years turn out to be without foundation. In the quarrel with Marston and Dekker his culpability is by no means evident. He did not receive benefits from Shakespeare, and did not sneer at him in the passages that have been taken to prove his ingratitude; and, instead of envying that great poet, he gave him his noblest praise; nor did he trample on his contemporaries, but liberally commended them." (Specimens of the British Poets, vol. iii., p. 142.)

[m] Jonson himself and his friends maintained that his Translations were the best parts of his works; a conclusion in which Gifford and other modern critics are by no means disposed to acquiesce. See Jonson's Works, vol. ii. p. 474, note.

APPENDIX.

HEADS OF A CONVERSATION BETWIXT THE FAMOUS POET BEN JOHNSON AND WILLIAM DRUMMOND OF HAWTHORNDEN, JANUARY, 1619.[n]

(From Drummond's Works, page 224.)

He (Ben Johnson) said, that his Grandfather came from Carlisle, to which he had come from Annandale in Scotland; that he served King Henry VIII., and was a gentleman, His Father lost his estate under Queen Mary, having been cast in prison and forfeited, and at last he turned Minister. He was posthumous, being born a month after his father's death, and was put to school by a friend. His master was Camden. Afterwards he was taken from it, and put to another craft, viz: to be a Bricklayer, which he could not endure, but went to the Low-Countries, and returning home again, he betook himself to his wonted studies. In his service in the Low-Countries he had, in the view of both the armies, killed an enemy, and taken the opima spolia from him; and since coming to England, being appealed to a duel, he had killed his adversary, who had hurt him in the arm, and whose sword was ten inches longer than his. For this crime he was imprisoned, and almost at the gallows. Then he took his religion on trust of a Priest, who visited him in prison; he was 12 years a Papist; but after this he was reconciled to the Church of

[n] The Conversations in their abridged form is subjoined as a necessary portion of the volume. A comparison will satisfy the reader, that, if an injudicious, it was at least not an unfair abridgment.

England, and left off to be a Recusant. (At his first Communion, in token of his true reconciliation, he drunk out the full cup of wine.) He was Master of Arts in both Universities. In the time of his close imprisonment under Queen Elizabeth there were spies to catch him, but he was advertised of them by the Keeper. He has an Epigram on the Spies. He married a wife, who was a shrew, yet honest to him. When the King came to England, about the time that the Plague was in London, he (Ben Johnson) being in the country at Sir Rob. Cotton's house with old Camden, he saw in a vision his eldest son, then a young child and at London, appear unto him with the mark of a bloody cross on his forehead, as if it had been cut with a sword; at which, amaz'd, he prayed unto God, and in the morning he came to Mr. Camden's chamber to tell him, who persuaded him it was but an apprehension at which he should not be dejected: In the meantime there come letters from his wife of the death of that boy in the Plague. He appeared to him, he said, of a manly shape, and of that growth he thinks he shall be at the Resurrection.

He was accused by Sir James Murray to the King for writing something against the Scots in a play called Eastward Hoe, and voluntarily imprisoned himself with Chapman and Marston, who had written it amongst them: It was reported that they should have their Ears and Noses cut. After their delivery he entertained all his friends, there were present Camden, Selden, and others. In the middle of the feast his old mother drank to him, and shewed him a paper, which she designed (if the sentence had passed) to have mixed among his drink, and it was strong and lusty poison, and that she was no churl, she told she designed first to have drunk it herself.

He said, he had spent a whole night in lying looking to his great toe, about which he hath seen Tartars and Turks, Romans and Carthaginians fight in his imagination. He wrote all his verses first in prose, as his master Camden taught him, and said, that verses stood by sense without either colours or accent.

He used to say, that many Epigrams were ill, because they expressed in the end what should have been understood by what was said before; as that of Sir John Davies. That he had a Pastoral intitled the May Lord, his own name is Alkin, Ethra the Countess of Bedford, Mogbel Overbery the old Countess of Suffolk, an En-

chantress; other names are given to Somerset, his lady, Pembroke, the Countess of Rutland, Lady Wroth. In his first scene, Alkin comes in mending his broken pipe. He bringeth in, says our Author, Clowns making mirth and foolish sports, contrary to all other Pastorals. He had also a design to write a Fisher or Pastoral Play, and make the stage of it in the Lomond Lake; and also to write his foot-pilgrimage hither, and to call it a Discovery, in a poem he calleth Edinburgh;

"The Heart of Scotland, Britain's other eye."

That he had an intention to have made a play like Plautus's Amphytruo, but left it off, for that he could never find two so like one to the other, that he could persuade the spectators that they were one.

That he had a design to write an Epick Poem, and was to call it Chorologia of the Worthies of his Country raised by fame, and was to dedicate it to his Country: It is all in couplets, for he detested all other rhymes. He said he had written a Discourse of Poetry both against Campion and Daniel, especially the last, where he proves couplets to be the best sort of verses, especially when they are broke like Hexameters, and that cross Rhimes and Stanzas, because the purpose would lead beyond 8 lines, were all forced. His censure of the English Poets was this; that Sidney did not keep a decorum in making every one speak as well as himself; Spencer's Stanzas pleased him not, nor his matter; the meaning of the Allegory of his Fairy Queen he had delivered in writing to Sir Walter Rawleigh, which was, that by the Bleating Beast he understood the Puritans, and by the false Duessa the Queen of Scots. He told, that Spencer's goods were robbed by the Irish, and his house and a little child burnt, he and his wife escaped, and after died for want of bread in King Street; he refused 20 pieces sent him by my Lord Essex, and said he was sure he had no time to spend them. Samuel Daniel was a good honest man, had no children, and was no Poet; and that he had wrote the Civil Wars, and yet hath not one battle in all his book. That Michael Drayton's Polyolbion, if he had performed what he promised, to write the deeds of all the Worthies, had been excellent. That he was challenged for intituling one book Mortimariades. That Sir John Davis play'd on Drayton in an Epi-

gram, who in his Sonnet concluded his Mistress might have been the ninth worthy, and said, he used a phrase like Dametas in Arcadia, who said, his Mistriss, for wit, might be a giant. That Silvester's translation of Du Bartas was not well done, and that he wrote his verses before he understood to confer; and these of Fairfax were not good. That the translations of Homer and Virgil in long Alexdrines were but prose. That Sir John Harrington's Ariosto, under all translations, was the worst. That when Sir John Harrington desired him to tell the truth of His Epigrams, he answered him, that he loved not the truth, for they were narrations, not Epigrams. He said, Donne was originally a Poet, his grandfather on the mother side was Heywood the Epigrammatist. That Donne for not being understood would perish. He esteemed him the first Poet in the world for some things; his verses of the lost Ochadine he had by heart, and that passage of the Calm, that dust and feathers did not stir, all was so quiet. He affirmed that Donne wrote all his best pieces before he was twenty-five years of age. The Conceit of Donne's Transformation or Μετεμψυχώσις, was, that he sought the soul of that apple that Eva pulled, and thereafter made it the soul of a bitch, then of a she-wolf, and so of a woman; his general purpose was to have brought it into all the bodies of the Hereticks from the Soul of Cain; and at last left it in the body of Calvin. He only wrote one sheet of this, and since he was made Doctor, repented hugely, and resolved to destroy all his poems. He told Donne, that his anniversary was prophane and full of blasphemies, that if it had been written on the Virgin Mary, it had been tolerable. To which Donne answered, that he described the idea of a Woman, and not as she was. He said Shakespear wanted art and sometimes sense; for in one of his plays he brought in a number of men, saying they had suffered ship-wrack in Bohemia, where is no sea near by 100 miles. That Sir Walter Rawleigh esteemed more fame than conscience; the best wits in England were imployed in making his History. Ben himself had written a piece to him of the Punick War, which he altered, and set in his book. He said there was no such ground for an heroick poem as King Arthur's Fiction; and that Sir P. Sidney had an intention to have transformed all his Arcadia to the Stories of King Arthur. He said, Owen was a poor pedantick Schoolmaster,

sweeping his living from the posteriors of little children, and has nothing good in him, his Epigrams being bare narrations. Francis Beaumont died before he was 30 years of age, who, he said, was a good Poet, as were Fletcher and Chapman, whom he loved. That Sir William Alexander was not half kind to him, and neglected him because a friend to Drayton. That Sir R. Ayton loved him dearly. He fought several times with Marston and says, that Marston wrote his Father-in-laws preachings, and his Father-in-law his Comedies. His judgment of Stranger Poets was, That he thought not Bartas a Poet, but a verser, because he wrote not fiction: he cursed Petrarch for redacting verses into Sonnets, which, he said, was like that tyrant's bed where some who were too short were racked, others too long cut short. That Guarini in his Pastor Fido kept no decorum, in making shepherds speak as well as himself. That he told Cardinal du Perou (when he was in France, Anno 1613.) who showed him his translation of Virgil, that it was naught; that the best pieces of Ronsard were his Odes. But all this was to no purpose (says our Author) for he never understood the French or Italian languages. He said, Petronius, Plinius Secundus and Plautus spoke best Latine, and that Tacitus wrote the secrets of the Council and Senate, as Suetonius did those of the Cabinet and Court. That Lucan, taken in parts, was excellent, but altogether naught. That Quintilians 6. 7 and 8 books were not only to be read but altogether digested. That Juvenal, Horace and Martial were to be read for delight, and so was Pindar; but Hippocrates for health. Of the English nation he said, that Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity was best for Church matters, and Selden's Titles of Honour for Antiquities. Here our Author relates that the censure of his verses was, that they were all good, especially his Epitaph on Prince Henry, save that they smelled too much of the Schools, and were not after the fancy of the times; for a child (says he) may write after the fashion of the Greek and Latin verses in running; yet that he wished for pleasing the King, that piece of Forth Feasting had been his own.

As Ben Johnson has been very liberal of his censures on all his co-temporaries, so our Author does not spare him; For (he says) Ben Johnson was a great lover and praiser of himself, a contemner and scorner of others, given rather to lose a friend than a jest; jea-

lous of every word and action of those about him, especially after drink, which is one of the elements in which he lived, a dissembler of the parts which reign in him; a bragger of some good that he wanted, thinketh nothing well done but what either he himself or some of his friends have said or done; he is passionately kind and angry, careless either to gain or keep; vindictive, but if he be well answered, at himself; interprets best sayings and deeds often to the worst. He was for any religion, as being versed in both; oppressed with fancy, which hath overmastered his reason, a general disease in many Poets. His inventions are smooth and easy, but above all he excelleth in a translation. When his play of the Silent Woman was first acted, there were found verses after on the stage against him, concluding that that play was well named the Silent Woman, because there was never one man to say *Plaudite* to it.

Mr. Drummond gave the following Character of several Authors.

The Authors I have seen (saith he) on the subject of Love, are the Earl of Surrey, Sir Thomas Wyat (whom because of their antiquity, I will not match with our better times) Sidney, Daniel, Drayton, and Spencer. He who writeth the Art of English Poesy[o] praiseth much Rawleigh and Dyer; but their works are so few that are come to my hands, I cannot well say any thing of them.

The last we have are Sir William Alexander, and Shakespear,[p] who have lately published their works. Constable,[q] saith some, have [hath]

[o] See Puttenham's Art of English Poesie, London, 1589.

[p] Here Drummond evidently refers to the poems of Shakespeare, and not to his plays.

[q] Henry Constable, as Mr. Collier remarks, (Bridgewater Catalogue, p. 283) "had an extraordinary reputation; but nothing he has left behind him warrants the praise bestowed upon him in an old play, 'The Return from Parnassus,' 1606, in a couplet, which will remind the reader of a beautiful passage in Milton's 'Comus:'

> 'Sweet Constable doth take the wond'ring ear,
> And lays it up in willing prisonment.'

The only work he published is a collection of sonnets, under the title of

written excellently; and Murray,[r] with others, I know, hath done well, if they could be brought to publish their works: But of secrets who can soundly judge?

The best and most exquisite Poet of this subject, by consent of the whole Senate of Poets, is Petrarch. S. W. R.,[s] in an Epitaph on Sidney, calleth him our English Petrarch; and Daniel[t] regrates he was not a Petrarch, though his Delia be a Laura; So Sidney in his Ast[rophel] and Stella telleth of Petrarch,

> You that poore Petrarch's long deceased wooes,
> With new-borne sighes, [and denisend wit do sing.]

The French have also set him before them as a Paragon; whereof we still find, that those of our English Poets who have approached nearest to him, are the most exquisite on this subject. When I say approach him, I mean not in following his invention, but in forging as good; and when one matter cometh to them all at once, who quintessenceth it in the finest substance.

Among our English Poets, Petrarch is imitated, nay, surpast in some things, in matter and manner: In matter none approach him to Sidney, who hath Songs and Sonnets in matter intermingled:[u] In manner the nearest I find to him is W. Alexander; who, insisting

'Delia,' 1592." He appears to have visited Scotland on more than one occasion. In March 1599, he was summoned to appear before the Presbytery of Edinburgh, as being a Roman Catholic; but he excused himself from appearing as a stranger, and soon after left the country.

[r] Probably Sir David Murray of Gorthy, who was tutor of Prince Henry, and was the author of a volume published in 1611, "The Tragicall Death of Sophonisba," and containing a number of sonnets, under the title of "Cælia." His cousin, John Murray, is also known as a poetical writer, but we learn from a letter addressed to Drummond of Hawthornden, by Sir William Alexander, enclosing a sonnet on his death, that John Murray died in April 1615. (Works, p. 150.)

[s] No doubt Sir Walter Raleigh: an Epitaph on Sir Philip Sidney, attributed to Sir Walter Raleigh, is included in the Roxburghe volume, "Sidneiana," published by Dr. Butler, Bishop of Lichfield, in 1837. This, however, is not the epitaph that Drummond refers to.

[t] See his Delia, Sonnet xl.

[u] In his Astrophel and Stella, usually subjoined to his Arcadia.

in these same steps, hath Sextains, Madrigals, and Songs, Echoes and Equivoques,[v] which he hath not; whereby, as the one hath surpast him in matter, so the other in manner of writting, or form. This one thing which is followed by the Italians, as of Sanazarius and others, is, that none celebrateth their Mistress after her death, which Ronsard hath imitated; After which two, next (methinks) followeth Daniel, for sweetness in ryming second to none. Drayton seemeth rather to have loved his Muse than his Mistress; by, I know not what artificial Similes, this sheweth well his mind but not the Passion. As to that which Spencer calleth his Amoretti, I am not of their opinion who think them his; for they are so childish, that it were not well to give them so honourable a father.[w]

Donne, among the Anacreontick lyrics, is second to none, and far from all second; but as Anacreon doth not approach Callimachus, tho' he excels in his own kind, nor Horace to Virgil, no more can I be brought to think him to excel either Alexander's or Sidney's verses: They can hardly be compared together trading diverse paths; the one flying swift, but low, the other, like the eagle, surpassing the clouds. I think, if he would, he might easily be the best Epigrammatist we have found in English; of which I have not yet seen any come near the Ancients. Compare Song *Marry and Love* &c.[x] with Tasso's stanzas against beauty; one shall hardly know who hath the best.

Drayton's Polyolbion is one of the smoothest poems I have seen in English, poetical and well prosecuted; there are some pieces in him I dare compare with the best transmarine poems. The 7th song pleaseth me much. The 12th is excellent. The 13th also. The Discourse of Hunting passeth with any Poet, and the 18th, which is his last in this edition 1614.[y]

I find in him, which is in most part of my Compatriots, too great

[v] In his "Aurora, containing the first fancies of the Author's youth, William Alexander of Menstrie." London, 1604, 4to.

[w] Whatever opinion may be entertained respecting Spenser's *Amoretti*, there is no reason to call in question his being the author.

[x] The second of Donne's Elegies begins *Marry and love thy Flavia.*

[y] The second part of Drayton's Polyolbion was not published until the year 1622.

an admiration of their country; on the History of which, whilst they muse, as wondering, they forget sometimes to be good Poets.

Silvester's translation of Judith, and the Battle of Yvory, are excellent. He is not happy in his inventions, as may be seen in his "Tabacco Batter'd," and "Epitaphes;" Who likes to know whether he or Hudson hath the advantage of Judith,[z] let them compare the beginning of the 4th Book, "O Silver brow'd Diana," &c. And the end of the 4th Book, "Her waved locks," &c. The midst of the 8th [5th] Book, "In Ragau's ample plain one morning met," &c. The 6th Book, after the beginning, "Each being set anon, fulfilled out," &c. And after, "Judas, said she; Thy Jacob to deliver, now is the time," &c. His pains are much to be praised, and happy Translations, in sundry parts equalling the Original.

z "The Historie of Judith" was Englished by Thomas Hudson, from the French of Du Bartas, at the command of James VI., to whom it was dedicated, and printed at Edinburgh, 1584, 8vo. In a list of the king's (James VI.) household, "Mekill Thomas Hudsone" appears with three others of the same name, as Violaris. The term "mekill," or large, may apply to his person. He long continued at the Scottish court. On the 5th of June 1586, he was appointed "Maister of his Hienes Chappell Royall." See note in Alexander Montgomery's Poems, p. 302, Edinburgh, 1821, 8vo. Hudson's version of Judith was afterwards reprinted at London in 1608, and in the subsequent editions of Sylvester's popular translation of "Du Bartas his Divine Weekes and Dayes." Sylvester was so greatly admired for the smoothness of his versification, as to be called "Silver tong'd Sylvester."

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LONDON:
P. SHOBERL, JUN., 51, RUPERT STREET, HAYMARKET,
PRINTER TO H. R. H. PRINCE ALBERT.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

OF

THE SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY

TO THE

FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SUBCRIBERS,

HELD ON THE 26th APRIL, 1842, AT THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF LITERATURE, No. 4, ST. MARTIN'S PLACE, CHARING CROSS.

At the close of the duties of the first Council of the Shakespeare Society, it may be proper to state briefly the object of the association, that it may be seen how far that object has been attained.

The illustration of the Life and Writings of our great Dramatist was the primary design in the formation of the Shakespeare Society; and in the original Prospectus it was stated that "every thing, whether derived from manuscript or printed sources, that would throw light on our Early Dramatic Literature and Stage," would also come within its purpose. With this view it was proposed not merely to print works which would directly elucidate some point in the biography of Shakespeare, or in the history of his productions, which works must necessarily be of comparatively rare occurrence, but others which would indirectly come in aid of such an undertaking. Thus, Old Plays, by the predecessors or contemporaries of Shakespeare, were pointed out as peculiarly appropriate: it was considered indisputable that few Tracts of the time by rival authors, adverting to existing manners and opinions, would fail in various respects to explain Shakespeare's character, plays, or poems; and the early publications, friendly or hostile to the

progress of Theatrical Amusements, would, of course, afford information in connection with the rise and progress of our Stage, and with its condition at the time when Shakespeare became an author and an actor.

The mention of the Works already issued by the Society will tend to shew in what manner and to what extent the Council has carried into effect the intention of its establishment; but it may be right, in the first place, to remark that the funds of an association of the kind must, in the outset, be unavoidably limited. When the full number of One Thousand Subscribers shall have been attained, it is obvious that the Council will be able to accomplish more, than in the present year they have had the means of attempting.

The volumes already issued are seven in number, making in the whole more than 1300 octavo pages; but it is to be observed that the last volume is not included in the first year's subscription. The following are the titles of the Publications of the Society, in the order in which they have come from the press.

1. Memoirs of Edward Alleyn, the Actor, Founder of Dulwich College, from original sources: with new information respecting Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Lodge, Dekker, Marston, and other contemporary Dramatists and Actors. By J. Payne Collier, Esq., F.S.A.

2. The School of Abuse: containing a pleasant Invective against Poets, Pipers, Players, Jesters, &c. By Stephen Gosson. From the edition of 1579, compared with the impression of 1587.

3. An Apology for Actors, &c. By Thomas Heywood. From the edition printed by Nicholas Okes in 1612, compared with Cartwright's edition printed during the Civil Wars.

4. Ludus Coventriæ: a Collection of Mysteries, formerly represented at Coventry on the Feast of Corpus Christi. From a MS. in the British Museum of the Reign of Edward IV. Edited by James Orchard Halliwell, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., &c.

5. The Debate between Pride and Lowliness, pleaded in an Issue of Assize, &c. by Francis Thynn. Imprinted at London by

John Charlwood, &c. n.d. B.L. 8vo. This work is in verse, and is the original from which Robert Greene, the Dramatist, took his "Quip for an Upstart Courtier," 1592, 4to.

6. The pleasant Comedy of Patient Grissell. By Thomas Dekker, Henry Chettle, and William Haughton. 1603. With an introduction on the origin of the story, and its application to the Stage in various countries of Europe.

7. Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I., from the original Office Books of the Masters and Yeomen. With an Introduction and Notes, by Peter Cunningham, Esq.

Upon the manner in which these publications contribute, both immediately and incidentally, to the illustration of the Life and Writings of Shakespeare, it is unnecessary to enlarge; and to the preceding enumeration of Works already delivered to Members, may be added a list of those at present in the printer's hands, or which the Council has ordered for press, without more delay than is consistent with the convenience of the respective Editors.

1. Notes of Ben Jonson's Conversations with Drummond of Hawthornden, in the year 1619. Edited by David Laing, Esq., F.S.A.

2. The old Play of Timon of Athens, which preceded that of Shakespeare, and from which he adopted the banquet scene, and other circumstances in his drama. Edited by the Rev. Alex. Dyce, from the original manuscript in his possession.

3. A Collection of all the Documents which have reference to the Events of Shakespeare's Life. The Will edited by Sir Frederick Madden, F.R.S., F.S.A., Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum, with Fac-similes of the Signatures. The Marriage Licence, transcripts from the Registers at Stratford-upon-Avon, and all the other Documents, edited by John Bruce, Esq., F.S.A.

4. The first sketch of Shakespeare's Merry Wives of Windsor, printed in 1602, 4to., which has never been reprinted. To which will be added a collection of early tales, upon which the play is supposed to have been founded. Edited, with an introduction and notes, by J. O. Halliwell, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., &c.

5. The Diary and Account Book of Philip Henslowe, between the years 1590 and 1610, in which he entered his various Transactions relating to Plays, Players, and Dramatic Authors, (parts only of which were imperfectly printed by Malone), from the original MS. at Dulwich College. By permission of the Master, Warden, and Fellows. Edited by J. Payne Collier, Esq., F.S.A.

6. Die Schöne Sidea. An early German Drama, thought to be a translation of an English Drama from which Shakespeare derived the plot of "The Tempest." Edited, with an English translation, by William J. Thoms, Esq., F.S.A. To be followed by translations of three other German Plays, supposed to contain similar versions of Dramas on which Shakespeare founded "Much ado about Nothing," "The Two Gentlemen of Verona," and "Titus Andronicus."

7. Edward the Fourth: a Historical Play, in two parts, by Thomas Heywood. To be edited by Barron Field, Esq., from the earliest impression of 1600, in the library of Lord Francis Egerton, collated with the later impressions in 1605, 1613, 1619, and 1626.

To these fourteen Works already issued, or in progress, the Council begs leave to subjoin a list of such as have been recommended to the Society, and all of which, having been approved, will make their appearance with a rapidity proportioned to the means at the disposal of the Council.

1. Sir Thomas More: an unprinted Historical Play, on the Life and Death of that great Statesman and Lawyer: written and licensed for the Stage about the year 1590, and preserved in the original manuscript in the British Museum. To be edited by the Rev. Alex. Dyce.

2. The Diary of a Barrister of the Name of Manningham, preserved in the British Museum, containing Anecdotes and Notices of Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Spenser, Marston, Sir W. Raleigh, Sir John Davys, &c., with some curious Historical particulars in the years 1601 and 1602.

3. Translations of two Italian Comedies, Gl' Inganni and Gl' Ingannati, the plots of which bear a strong resemblance to Shakespeare's Twelfth Night.

4. A Volume of Ballads upon which Old Plays were founded, or which were founded upon Old Plays; including, of course, all those employed by Shakespeare. To be edited by W. D. Cooper, Esq., F.S.A.

5. The True Tragedie of Richard the Third, which preceded Shakespeare's play. From a complete copy of the 4to. of 1594, in the Library of his Grace the Duke of Devonshire, supplying the omitted leaves, and correcting many important errors in the imperfect copy in Malone's Shakespeare by Boswell.

6. The Chester Whitsun-Plays: a Collection of Early Dramatic Representations by the Incorporated Trades of Chester. From a MS. in the British Museum, collated with two other transcripts in the same institution, and with the oldest MS. yet discovered, in the Library of his Grace the Duke of Devonshire. To be edited by Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., &c.

7. Funebria Floræ. The Downfal of May-Games, &c. By Thomas Hall, B.D. 1668, 4to. To be edited (with an Introduction and Notes) by W. B. D. D. Turnbull, Esq., F.S.A., &c.

8. Honour Triumphant, or the Peer's Challenge, by Arms Defensible at Tilt, Turney, and Barriers, &c. Also, The Monarch's Meeting, or the King of Denmark's Welcome into England. By John Ford. 1606. A totally unnoticed production, in prose and verse, by the celebrated Dramatic Poet.

9. An Account of and extracts from the Old Plays, (some of them *unique*) in the Library of the Right. Hon. Lord Francis Egerton, M.P.: accompanied by remarks historical, bibliographical, critical, and biographical, illustrative of our early Stage and Dramatic Poetry. By J. Payne Collier, Esq., F.S.A.

10. A Nest of Ninnies, simply without Compounds. By Robert Armin, the celebrated Actor in Shakespeare's Plays. From the only known edition of 1608. It contains anecdotes, in verse and prose, of various celebrated Fools and Jesters.

11. Tarlton's News out of Purgatory: only such a Jest as his Jig, fit for Gentlemen to laugh at an hour, &c.; published by an old companion of his, Robin Goodfellow. From the earliest edition, printed by Edward White about 1590, compared with the impression of 1630.

12. An Answer to Stephen Gosson's School of Abuse. By Thomas Lodge. This work was printed about the year 1580; but, as the writer informs us, it was "suppressed by authority," and the only copies known are without title-pages.

13. Pierce Pennyless, his Supplication to the Devil. By Thomas Nash. To be printed from the first edition of 1592, compared with the two other impressions in the same year.

14. A Collection of Broadsides and Manuscript Pieces, in prose and verse, principally relating to Authors, Plays, Actors, and Theatres, during the Reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I.

15. A Royal Arbour of Loyal Poesie, consisting of Poems and Songs. By Thomas Jordan. 1664. It contains various Dramatic Ballads, particularly those founded upon Shakespeare's Much Ado about Nothing, Winter's Tale, Merchant of Venice, &c.

16. Pasquil's Jests, mixed with Mother Bunch's Merriments. Whereunto is added a dozen of Gulls. Pretty and pleasant to drive away the tediousness of a Winter's Evening. From the earliest edition of 1604, compared with later impressions.

17. A volume of the Names, Lives, and Characters of the Actors in the Plays of Marlowe, Greene, Peele, Shakespeare, Lodge, Ben Jonson, Chapman, Massinger, Ford, Webster, Middleton, Dekker, Heywood, &c., alphabetically arranged, and embracing various particulars hitherto unknown.

18. A Translation of Echtermeyer's Introduction to the "Quellen der Shakespeare," containing an account of the sources of the Plots of Shakespeare's Plays.

In this, as in other literary societies, it has been found expedient to appoint Local Secretaries for the management of its affairs in distant situations; and the following gentlemen have kindly consented to act in that capacity in the different places to which their names are attached. To their services the Society at large is greatly indebted.

Bristol—Robert Lang, Esq.
Cambridge—W. A. Warwick, Esq.
Dublin—Sir William Betham, *Ulster*.
Duckinfield—Rev. R. B. Aspland.
Edinburgh—W. B. D. D. Turnbull, Esq., F.S.A.
Gainsborough—John Mozly Stark, Esq.
Glasgow—R. Malcolm Kerr, Esq.
Ipswich—W. Stevenson Fitch, Esq.
Manchester—James Crossley, Esq.
Norwich—Robert Fitch, Esq., F.G.S.
Oxford—Rev. Philip Bliss, D.C.L., F.S.A.
Paris—Rev. H. Longueville Jones, M.A.
Portsmouth—Henry Slight, Esq.
Reading—John Richards, Jun., Esq., F.S.A.
Southwold—Jonathan Gooding, Esq.
Warwick—John Twamley, Esq.
Worcester—J.M. Gutch, Esq.
Leamington Spa—J. Sharp, Jun., Esq.

The Council with great pleasure adverts to the prosperous state of the finances of the Shakespeare Society. At the end of the year which closed on the 31st December, 1841, there was a considerable balance in the hands of the Treasurer, as will appear by the annexed Report of the Auditors; and there is every reason to believe that the sum to be placed, in the present year, at the disposal of the Council now to be elected will, by the addition of Members, be greater than that obtained in the first year of the existence of the Society, when its design and character were less known and understood. There is already at the Bankers of the Society a larger amount than the total expenditure of the last year.

In the commencement, various expences were also unavoidable, which it will not be necessary again to incur; and the whole of the Subscriptions will thus in future be applicable to the payment for transcripts of manuscripts or printed books, and to the cost of printing and paper, which, with some trifling incidental charges, will henceforward constitute the whole expenditure of the Society.

The Council cannot conclude without calling the attention of the admirers of Shakespeare, and of our early Dramatic Literature, to the fact that this Society is the only one existing for the purpose of illustrating the character and works of our great National Poet: if the undertaking be followed up in the manner hitherto pursued, it is hoped that some honour may be done to the Members, although it is impossible to add any thing to the universal admiration which adheres to the name of Shakespeare.

By order of the Council,

J. Payne Collier, *Director*,

F. G. Tomlins, *Secretary*.

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Glasgow—R. Malcolm Kerr, Esq.
Ipswich—W. Stevenson Fitch, Esq.
Manchester—James Crossley, Esq.
Norwich—Robert Fitch, Esq., F.G.S.
Oxford—Rev. Philip Bliss, D.C.L., F.S.A.
Paris—Rev. H. Longueville Jones, M.A.
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By order of the Council,

J. Payne Collier, *Director*,

F. G. Tomlins, *Secretary*.

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS.

We, the Auditors appointed to audit the Receipts and Expenditure of the Shakespeare Society, certify that the Treasurer has exhibited to us his Accounts from the Institution of the Society to the 15th April, 1842; that we have examined the same, together with the Vouchers relating thereto, and find the same to be correct and satisfactory.

And we farther report that the following is a correct abstract of the Receipts and Expenditure of the Society during the period to which we have referred:—

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.
Amount of Subscriptions for the first year received to the 31st Dec., 1841 . .	552	3	0
Amount of Subscriptions for 1841 and 1842 received to the 15th April, 1842 . .	440	4	0
Compositions from Two Members	21	0	0
	£1013	7	0

EXPENDITURE.	£	s.	d.
Mr. Shoberl, Jun., for Printing	174	19	0
Mr. Bonsor, for Paper .	119	14	9
Messrs. Westley, for Binding	63	10	0
For Transcripts	49	9	0
Mr. Rodd, the Society's Agent, for Postage and Delivery of Books, &c. .	17	10	0
The Secretary, for Advertisements, Postage, &c.	20	0	0
Printing Prospectus . .	4	4	6
Do. Fac-Simile of Coventry Mysteries	4	5	0
	453	12	3
Balance in the hands of the Treasurer . . .	559	14	9
	£1013	7	0

And we, the Auditors, further report that, against the balance of £559 14*s.* 9*d.*, there are outstanding liabilities to the amount of £50 13s., besides the expences of printing and binding the first publication of the second year.

And we, the Auditors, further state that, over and above the present Balance of £559 14*s.* 9*d.*, there are still outstanding various Subscriptions, for the First Year, of Foreign Members, Members resident in places distant from London, and of Members recently elected, amounting to nearly £60.

And, also, that about the sum of £200 is still outstanding upon Subscriptions for the Second Year.

EDWARD F. RIMBAULT.
WM. DURRANT COOPER.
SCROPE AYRTON.

Dated 18th April, 1842.

On the reception of the report by the General Meeting, the following resolutions were passed:—

RESOLUTION I. That the Report of the Council for the past year be received and printed, and that the thanks of the Society be given to the Council for their services.

RESOLUTION II. That the thanks of the Society be given to his Grace the Duke of Devonshire for a loan of a copy of the Comedy of "Patient Grissell," and to the Right Honourable Lord Francis Egerton for permission to reprint Thynn's *unique* Poem of "Pride and Lowliness."

RESOLUTION III. That the Report of the Auditors be received and printed, and that the thanks of the Society be given to them for their services.

RESOLUTION IV. That the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Director for his services.

RESOLUTION V. That the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Treasurer for his services.

RESOLUTION VI. That the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Secretary for his services.

The following Members of the Council retiring in compliance with Law IX.,

DOUGLAS JERROLD, ESQ.,
JAMES KENNEY, ESQ.,
SIR F. MADDEN, F.R.S., F.S.A., &c.,
MR. SERGEANT TALFOURD.,
CHARLES M. YOUNG, ESQ.,

the vacancies were filled up by the unanimous election of

BARRON FIELD, ESQ.,
HENRY HALLAM, ESQ., F.R.S., V.P.S.A.,
J. OXENFORD, ESQ.,
T. J. PETTIGREW, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A.,
J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., F.S.A.,

and the remaining Members of the Council being elected, the Meeting separated.

AGENT TO THE SOCIETY,

Mr. Thomas Rodd, Bookseller, 2, Great Newport Street, Long Acre, London, who is empowered to receive Subscriptions, and to whom all letters relative to the delivery of the books must be addressed. Subscriptions also received at the Union Bank, 4, Pall Mall East, London. The Secretary does not receive Subscriptions.

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